The *Ryedale Historian*

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The *Ryedale Historian* is the biennial journal of the Helmsley Archaeological and Historical Society and has been publishing the results of archaeological investigations and historical research in the Ryedale area since 1965.

The Society was founded in 1950, originally as the Helmsley and Area Group of the Yorkshire Archaeological Society, for the purpose of archaeological and historical research on Ryedale and the dissemination of that research through lectures and discussion and, later, through publication in the *Ryedale Historian*.

The Society is a registered charity (No. 1089682) with a current membership of over one hundred. From September to April it sponsors a programme of illustrated lectures held at the North York Moors National Park Authority headquarters in Helmsley; during the summer months, it holds a series of visits to sites and locations of interest to its members.

For information on how to join the Society and its current programme of lectures and visits, please visit its website at www.helmsleyarchaeologicalandhistoricalsociety.org.uk.

The
Ryedale Historian

Editorial

Issue 28 begins with an appreciation of Stephen Gibson who played a key role in the success of the *Ryedale Historian* and the health of the Society for many years.

In September, 2016 Society members and guests were fascinated by the lecture given by Dr Andrew Woods, Numismatic Curator at the Yorkshire Museum, on what is popularly called the 'Helmsley hoard'. The first article in this issue is on the subject of the hoard, now held in the Helmsley Archive, by Dr Woods and our Honorary Chair, Jennifer Harris, who has researched the surviving documentary evidence for the coins.

Dr Steven Bassett, in his article on the 'Wykeham' place-name in the Vale of Pickering, demonstrates how two of them (Wykeham near Scarborough and Wykeham near Pockley) may have been named thus by early Anglo-Saxon settlers to refer to nearby Romano–British settlements. In his analysis of the name of the third Wykeham near Old Malton, we learn an equally interesting history of its origins.

How the ancient coppiced woodlands in the valley of the River Seven have survived is the subject of Jonathan Allison's article; his detective work shows how a fortuitous combination of patterns of ownership, management through coppicing, neglect and actual use of woodland products has saved for us woods that not only are rich in bio-diversity but also are very similar to what they were in pre-Conquest times.

The Society has long been involved in archaeological field work on the Foord water races, studied in depth by the late Isabel McLean whose researches were published in 2005. Ed Dennison reports on a new archaeological survey of the Bonfield Gill aqueduct, prior to repair and consolidation and following field work by members of the Society.

In the last article, Shaun Richardson and Ed Dennison investigate the possible link between the Casten Dyke earthworks, generally believed to have been constructed between the Bronze Age and the Iron Age, and the 1322 Battle of Byland. They show that it is plausible that Casten Dyke South was either created specifically for the Battle of Byland by the English army, or that it was a pre-existing boundary which was re-used during the battle.

This issue is the last that I shall be editing for the Society so I am doubly pleased to be associated with such fine and interesting scholarship.

Farrell Burnett
Honorary Editor

Stephen Gibson
1941—2015
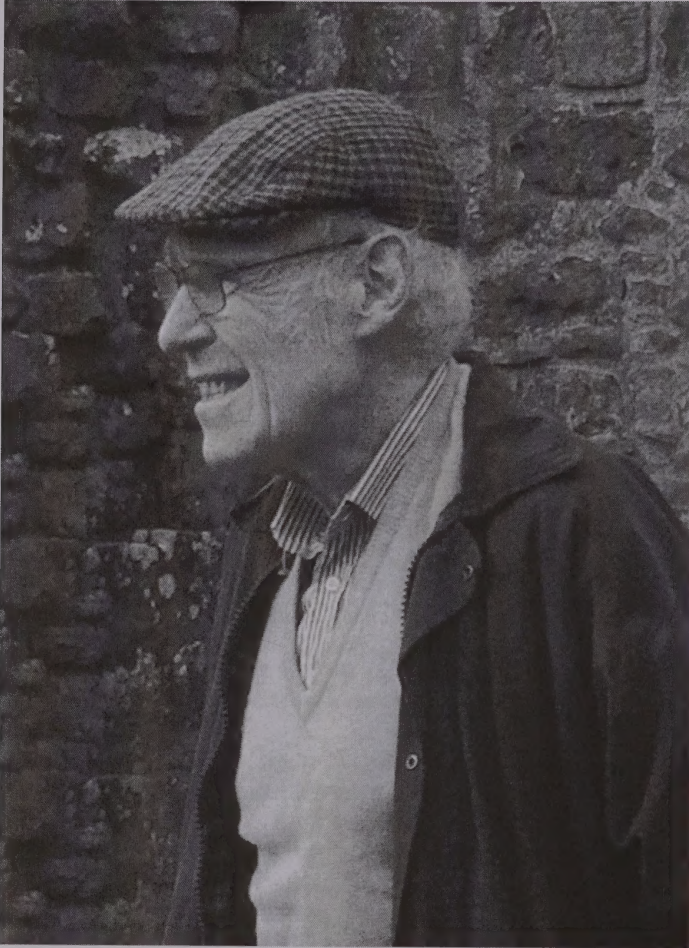
Stephen Gibson was a longstanding member of the Helmsley Archaeological and Historical Society whose sterling work in the role of Treasurer for over 15 years was much admired and appreciated. The tragic nature of Stephen's death while out on the Moors between Rosedale and Lastingham has been felt keenly by Society members.

Anyone who came into contact with Stephen was soon aware of his intelligence, wit and powerful memory. He was born in Middlesbrough in modest circumstances but spent most of his youth in York where he attended Poppleton Road School (whose alumni included Dame Janet Baker). After doing well at the 11-plus examination, he gained a scholarship to St Peter's School. Although he had thoughts of attending Oxford or Cambridge, his headmaster pushed him towards the University of Leeds, where after a four-year course in Agriculture he was awarded a first-class honours degree and was also awarded the

Yorkshire Agricultural Society silver gilt medal for Student of the Year and the Seton Prize.

From an early age Stephen wanted to be a farmer and live in the countryside. For 30 years, first with his brother and then with his wife Joceline, he owned a pig farm (a 300-sow unit producing pigs for pork and bacon) at Hopetown, Bedale and also opened a farm shop which supplied all meat and game to restaurants, hotels and individuals in the area and beyond. However, Stephen yearned for a 'real' farm and, after the Department of Transport made a compulsory purchase of Hopetown in order to improve the nearby A1, he and Joceline drove over 1500 miles looking for a suitable candidate.

At last they settled on Birkdale Farm, just outside Terrington and the site of the deserted medieval village of Mowthorpe. Stephen and Jocé set about turning the former dairy farm 'green', which included planting hedges and trees, growing arable crops and encouraging the return of wildlife.

Stephen and Jocé, who met at an English Speaking Union meeting in 1971 and married in 1974, shared a love of archaeology and history from their days at Hopetown Farm close to the old Roman road. (In fact, Stephen had studied ancient Greek at St Peter's but didn't feel he did well enough to continue.) They would learn about excavations in the area and finds of Samian ware, attend WEA classes in Bedale, visit nearby churches with Pevsner in hand — but the nature of their business meant they could not fully develop their interest until the move to Mowthorpe.

Mowthorpe provided Stephen and Jocé with a rich environment in which to develop their love of archaeology and history. They were encouraged by Scott Thompson (then a forestry student) who helped Stephen plant hedges at Birkdale and who later completed a thesis at University of Durham on the industrial archaeology of Mowthorpe. Roman and medieval pottery and Mesolithic flints were found and a geophysical survey of the area was completed. It was determined that stones from the old quarry on the land were used in the construction of Sheriff Hutton Castle.

Their involvement with the Helmsley Archaeological and Historical Society began when they met Robin Wardell at East Lilling deserted medieval village, near Sheriff Hutton. Tony Wright, also of Sheriff Hutton, urged them to attend Society lectures. At first they found HAHS members 'stand-offish and not very friendly'! That feeling soon passed and they became active participants in the Society's activities.

Stephen found himself standing with Philip Rahtz, Jocé and Basil Wharton just before the AGM in 1999, when Rahtz turned to him and asked if he would become Treasurer of the Society, a role he performed with great dedication and acuity for 15 years. That the Society's finances are in excellent condition is due in no small measure to Stephen's stewardship of its funds. He was delighted to oversee the funding of various archaeological projects, for example the tracing of the remains of Joseph Foord's water courses by Society members or the more recent project of excavation at Yearsley Mill. He ensured that the publication of the *Ryedale Historian* was supported generously and was, as Jen Harris has noted, 'the voice of reason and moderation' in the Society's committee meetings. He is sorely missed.

Farrell Burnett

A Severan Coin Hoard from the Helmsley Area

by Jennifer J. Harris and Andrew R. Woods

In August 2015, the beneficiaries of the estate of the late Richard Gordon Frank (1931–2013) agreed, in accordance with the wishes of the deceased, to donate a collection of Roman coins to the Helmsley Archive.[1] The collection comprises 35 Roman coins, all silver *denarii* except two bronze coins. They include coins from each of the four centuries of Roman occupation in Britain, the earliest struck in the AD 70s and the latest (one of the bronze coins) made in the 320s. The 33 silver coins are likely to represent a hoard. These coins have not been subject to previous analysis.

The following is a tentative interpretation of this group of coins which draws together the surviving documentary evidence for the coinage, and offers an initial analysis.

The Frank Collection

By the end of the nineteenth century the Franks were an important Helmsley family. The 1901 census records Benjamin Frank (1855–1932) as a timber merchant living on Castlegate, Helmsley with his wife and five children: Rachel, William, Richard, Daisy and Digby.[2] William and Digby followed their father into the family timber business but the middle son, Richard (1892–1973), is described in the 1911 census as a farmer living with his father, Benjamin Frank, on Castlegate.[3] After serving in the 1914–18 War, Richard returned to Helmsley to continue farming and was still listed as a farmer in Benjamin Frank's will, dated 1919.[4] Richard Frank continued to live in the family home in Helmsley until his marriage in 1921 when he moved to Nawton.

The Frank family maintain that the coins were discovered by Richard Frank while he was ploughing, but neither the find location nor the date has ever been confirmed. On his death, the coins passed to Richard Gordon Frank (1931–2013). Over the years there have been several conflicting suggestions for the find location but no conclusive evidence.

The Hoard and its Find Location

The earliest documentary evidence for the coins is provided by two letters both addressed to Richard Frank, Prospect House, Nawton. They were written by Philip Corder, Honorary Secretary and Editor of the Roman Malton & District Excavation Committee and dated 11 April and 10 August 1931 respectively. It appears that the coins had been sent by Richard Frank, in two lots, for identification by the Malton Excavation Committee. In the earlier letter,[5] Philip Corder refers to an initial six coins which '… appear to be part of a hoard … ' and adds that '… it is of great importance to us to find out if possible where they were originally found.' He also requests that the rest of the collection might be shown to the Committee.

The second letter[6] accompanies a detailed numismatic report[7] describing all 35 coins. Philip Corder again stresses the importance of knowing the provenance of the coins. No letters from Richard Frank to the Malton Excavation Committee have been found.

In 1935 the coins were recorded by Mary Kitson Clark in a gazetteer of Roman finds in East Yorkshire.[8] The entry states 'I am informed by Philip Corder that the following Roman coins are in the possession of Mr R Frank of Nawton', adding that 'these coins probably, but by no means certainly, came from Nawton or from the neighbourhood'. This suggestion that the coins might be from the Nawton area may be simply because Richard Frank was living in Nawton during this period. In the absence of any confirmed provenance for the coins, the find date and location suggested in Kitson Clark's entry have been repeated in subsequent references.

The coins are listed in Ann Robertson's *Inventory of Romano-British Coin Hoards*, as 'found Nawton(?), before 1935 (Yorks)'.[9] The coins are also recorded in *The History of Helmsley, Rievaulx and District*, 1963, in which Raymond Hayes refers to the original Roman Malton Report and also seems to have interviewed Richard Frank. The entry describes the coins as '... supposed to be from Nawton or Skiplam ...' and adds '... Mr Frank says "about 1860, probably from Dooholes, Duncombe Park (?)" (RHH)'.[10] 'Dooholes' is said to be a local word for the hollows where female deer from Duncombe Park sheltered. Raymond Hayes appears unconvinced by this suggestion and has annotated the margin of his personal copy of the Kitson Clark Gazetteer with 'probably bought from T. Parker Collection, Welburn, 1902'.[11] Thomas Parker of Welburn (1812–1902) is described in Kirkdale Parish information as an '... enthusiastic collector of antiquities and curiosities ...'.[12]

While it is not impossible that the coins were purchased from the Parker collection, there is no strong evidence to suggest that they were not discovered in the manner described by the Frank family. We favour the theory that they were found by Richard Frank. However, without precise knowledge of when they were found it is difficult to be confident about exactly where they were discovered. The hoard has been described as coming from the Helmsley area in the title above to reflect the lack of certain information about the precise find location. Without the emergence of additional information, further searching for the location of the find would seem to be futile.

Although it might seem plausible that the coins were in some way connected with the nearby Beadlam Roman Villa, this seems unlikely. The site at Beadlam was ploughed for the first time in living memory in 1964 and again in 1965, revealing evidence of Romano–British occupation: fragments of flue tiles, pottery, several pieces of opus signinum and a large lump of lead sheet.[13] Excavation of the site began in 1966; a total of 210 coins were found during excavations in 1969 and were listed by P E Curnow.[14] A further 121 coins were discovered during excavation work between 1972 and 1978.[15] Of the 321 Beadlam coins only six are from the date range AD 96–222 and the remaining coins are from the late third century or fourth century AD, of which the majority belong to the period AD 330–402. This contrasts markedly with the Richard Frank silver coins which date from the period AD 69–218.

The Coins

The coinage donated by Mr. Richard Gordon Frank to the Helmsley archive are all Roman and comprise a parcel of 33 silver coins and two others made from bronze. All the 33 silver coins are a single denomination, the *denarius* (pl. *denarii*), and are believed to form a hoard. There is no conclusive proof that the 33 coins are the entirety of a hoard, they

could conceivably represent a parcel of currency from a larger hoard. Although this cannot be entirely discounted, the numbers and proportions of emperors and types do not speak of selectivity nor is there any indication of this in the surviving documentation associated with the hoard. More conclusively, the two bronze coins can be disassociated from the silver coins which make up the hoard. They are a *radiate* of Postumus (struck 260–268) and a *nummus* of Constantine I (struck *c.* 320). These coins did not circulate alongside one another or the earlier silver *denarii,* nor are they found in the same hoards. This is supported by references in the written lists which note that they 'do not come from the same source'.[7] It can be surmised that these two coins are stray finds, likely recovered during routine agricultural activity. Both are very common types found across Northern Britain.

All of the coins were identified in the 1930s with a provisional catalogue produced.[7] A fuller catalogue is included as an appendix, with a summary provided in Table 1.[16] There are coins struck for ten emperors and two empresses within the hoard, with dates ranging from the first to the early third century. The latest coin added to the hoard is HA08938, struck for the emperor Macrinus. This gives the currency a *terminus post quem* of AD 217, after which it must have been deposited. Although it is clear that the hoard cannot have been hidden before 217AD, it is more difficult to assess how long after this date it was concealed. Some caution must be urged, as the early third century saw a rapidly changing currency in the Roman Empire with older currency disappearing from circulation in the decades following 210 AD. As such, it is perhaps possible to argue for date of deposition in the late 210s or early 220s AD.

Emperor	Dates	Coins
Vespasian	69-79	3
Trajan	98-117	3
Antoninus Pius	138-161	1
Marcus Aurelius	161-180	2
Commodus	177-192	1
Clodius Albinus	195-197	1
Septimius Severus	193-211	8
Julia Domna	193-217	5
Caracalla	198-217	3
Plautilla	188-212	1
Geta	209-212	4
Macrinus	217-218	1
	Total	**33**

Table 1: Summary of the hoard coins.

The range of emperors may strike those unused to Roman coinage as unusual. However, because the denomination of the coinage did not change during the 150 years that the coins were circulating, it is common to find very old coins in hoards of the early third century. A similarly broad range of dates is represented in the Heslington I hoard, found near York

in 2002. Results of an analysis of the hoard are as yet unpublished, but a summary of the coins is provided in Table 2. There is a similar range in age of the coins, although there are some subtle differences. With the Heslington coins the oldest are Republican, dating to the years of Marc Antony in the 30s BC. However, there are fewer coins of late first and second centuries. These slight differences are likely due to the small sample sizes and are not statistically significant. However, the broad similarities in terms of the dates of the coins from the hoards suggest that both are likely to have been drawn from a pool of currency which included a proportion of much older coins, rather than representing any kind of special savings over a prolonged period of time.

Emperor	Dates	Coins
Republican	Pre-27 BC	2
Vespasian	69-79	4
Marcus Aurelius	161-180	1
Commodus	177-192	1
Septimius Severus	193-211	7
Julia Domna	193-217	5
Caracalla	198-217	8
Plautilla	188-212	4
Uncertain		2
	Total	**34**

Table 2: Summary of coins in the Heslington I hoard.

Although there are a number of coins in the Helmsley hoard which date from before the 190s, the core of the hoard dates to the period following Septimius Severus' rise to power. There are eight of Severus himself, five of his wife, Julia Domna, sons Caracalla (three) and Geta (four), as well as a relatively unusual coin of Caracalla's wife, Plautilla. The Severan dynasty accounts for 21 of the 33 coins within the hoard. The hoard's probable deposition immediately after the end of this dynasty explains why there are so many of these coins, as they represent the most recently struck and probably the most numerous in circulation. However, if the broader picture is considered then other patterns also begin to emerge. The importance of Severan coinage is also something which is visible in several other hoards from northern Britain, and Yorkshire in particular.

Figure 1 plots the location of other coin hoards concealed around the Severan period.[17] There is a concentration of hoards in northern Britain, particularly around York but also several hoards near Hadrian's Wall. A greater volume of currency coined in the Severan period found in northern Britain has been noted by Philippa Walton, whose data in her 2012 study primarily consisted of metal-detected single finds.[18]

The greater number of coins from northern Britain may reflect the fact that the emperor Septimius Severus and his armies spent three years in northern Britain between AD 208 and 211. Severus spent several years campaigning to the north of Hadrian's Wall. During a portion of this time he made York his home. The effects of his presence have been traced

archaeologically in, for example, the distinctive 'head pots' of York which appear to be modelled on North African techniques.[19] It may be that the relative frequency of coin finds of this period in northern Britain can be associated with the influx of currency that the emperor, his entourage and armies brought with them.

Figure 1: Map showing Helmsley hoard location, Roman roads and other Severan coin hoards.

This political analysis may be balanced with one which seeks a more economic understanding of the hoard. The years around AD 200 saw the debasement of the silver *denarius* from its previously consistently high standard to one which was much lower, containing only 46 per cent silver.[20] While the Helmsley coins have not undergone scientific testing, it would appear that a number are made from a debased alloy. The clear silver of the early *denarii* is replaced by a much more golden colour on some coins (for example, HA08933) as the proportion of bronze increased.

A new silver denomination, the *radiate*, was also introduced in AD 215 by Caracalla.[21] This was a revolutionary step, changing a monetary system which had remained largely static for centuries. The *radiate* was supposed to be worth two *denarii* but only ever had the silver content of one and a half. One of the effects of this may have been to make the good silver *denarii* more valuable, encouraging them to be saved rather than spent. More certainly, it would have had effects upon confidence in the currency, perhaps providing further reason for the deposition of the hoard.

The devaluation of the coinage at the time of the hoard's deposition also had the effect of creating inflation. This led to the rapid rise of the wages of soldiers in the late second and early third century. There is some debate as to exactly what each rank of the Roman army was paid.[22] However, it can be fairly confidently asserted that in AD 197, during Septimius Severus' reign, the pay of the army was doubled. It was then increased by 50 per cent further in AD 212 under his son Caracalla. While pay varied enormously depending upon rank, these increases saw the pay of those in the lowest ranks increased from 250 *denarii* per annum to 750. While this figure is not necessarily straightforward (it does not include deductions or bonuses), it can be useful to give a general sense of the value of the 'Helmsley' hoard. The 33 coins within the hoard would have represented just under 5 per cent of the annual wage of a low-ranking soldier, equivalent to roughly two weeks' wages. These figures are presented not to suggest that the coinage was necessarily hidden by anyone with a direct connection to the military, but more as an indication of the relative value of the hoard. Whoever concealed the coins need not have been particularly wealthy, although the loss or non-recovery of 33 *denarii* is still likely to have been a hardship.

Conclusions

The Helmsley hoard is similar to many others recovered before modern standards of recording and the legal requirements of the Portable Antiquities Scheme. We cannot be absolutely sure where it was found or that we know all of its contents. However, careful work on its provenance and comparison with other contemporary hoards mean that it still has enormous potential as a way of understanding the Roman period. The hoard fits into established patterns for those hidden in the early years of the third century. It is one of a number of hoards hidden in northern Britain which may be associated with Septimius Severus, his court and armies. It was also concealed at a time of economic change, with currency which was undergoing fundamental changes for the first time in living memory. Whoever buried it need not have been a rich person although its loss would probably have been felt by its owner. The reasons behind its deposition and non-recovery may never be entirely clear but it could conceivably be connected with either the political events of the time or with the profound monetary changes that were taking place simultaneously.
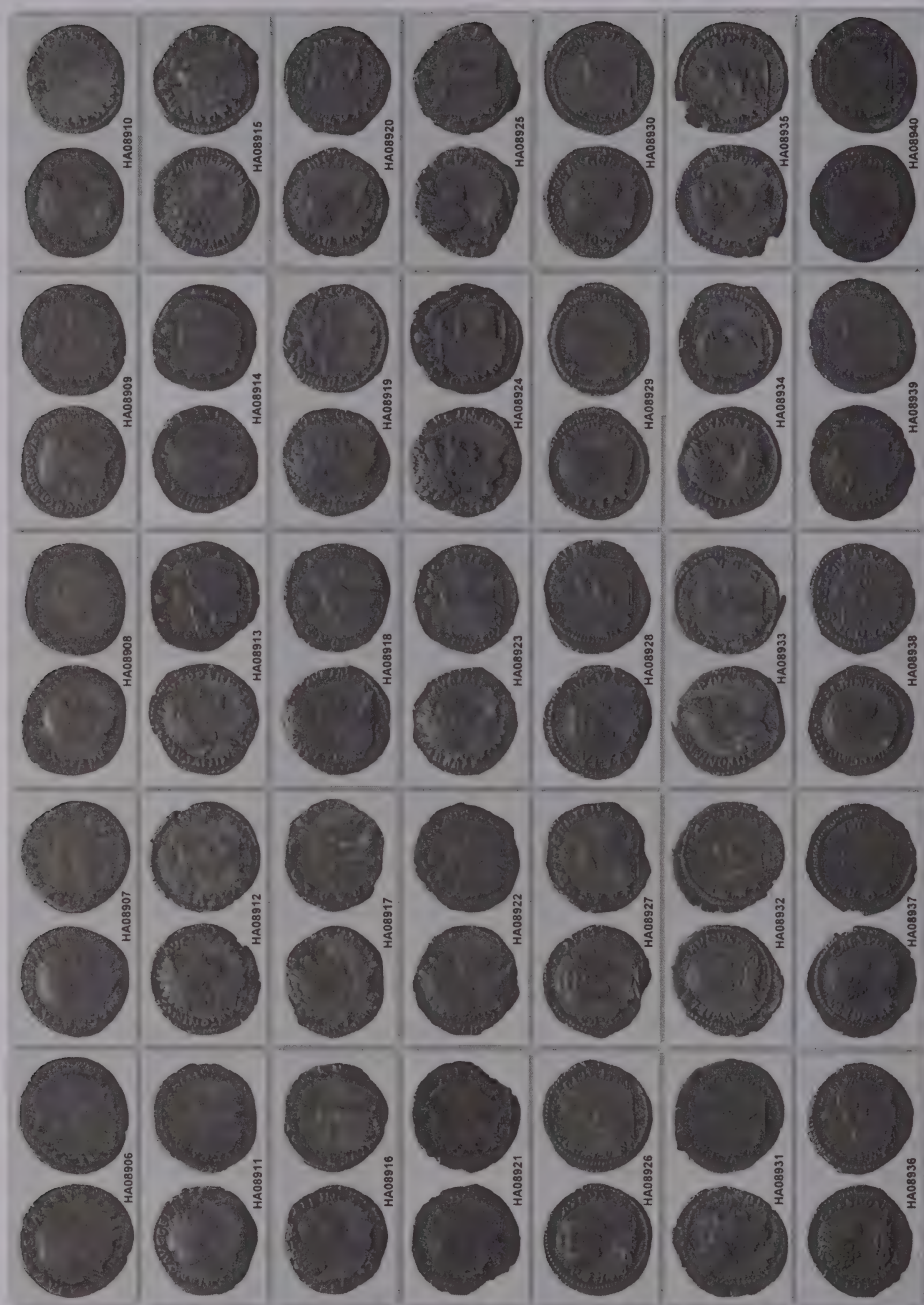
Figure 2: Obverse and reverse of the 35 coins in the Helmsley hoard.

Appendix

Helmsley Archive HA Number	Emperor	Obv Inscription	Reverse Inscription	Weight (g)	RIC Reference	Date from	Date to
HA08906	Vespasian	IMP CAES VESP AVG CENS	PONTIF MAXIM	2.89	II, 546	73	73
HA08907	Vespasian	IMP CAESAR VESPASIANVS AVG	COS ITER TR POT	2.71	II, 29	70	70
HA08908	Vespasian	[ ]VESPASIANVS[ ]	[ ]	2.87	II, 849	76	76
HA08909	Trajan	IMP CAES NER TRAIANO OPTIMO AVG GER DAC	P M TR P COS VI P P S P Q R	2.85	II, 337	114	117
HA08910	Trajan	IMP CAES NER TRAIANO OPTIMO AVG GER DAC	P M TR P COS VI P P S P Q R	2.86	II, 337	114	117
HA08911	Trajan	[ ] TRAIANO AVG GER DA[ ]	COS V P P S P Q R OPTIMO PRINC	2.83	III, 115	103	111
HA08912	Antoninus Pius	ANTONINVS AVG PIVS P P TR P XII	COS IIII	2.87	III, 181	148	149
HA08913	Marcus Aurelius	M ANTONINVS AVG TR P XXVI	IMP VI COS III	3.33	III, 255	171	172
HA08914	Commodus	L AEL AVREL COMM AVG P FEL	MARTI VLTORI AVG	2.70	III, 257	191	192
HA08915	Antonius Pius (Marcus Aurelius)	AVRELIVS CAESAR AVG PII FIL	TR POT VII COS II	3.07	III, 458	152	153
HA08916	Clodius Albinus	D CLOD SEPT ALBIN CAES	MINER PACIF COS II	3.34	IV, 7 cf	194	195
HA08917	Septimius Severus	L SEPT SEV PERT AVG IMP VII	ARAB AD[ ]	3.37	IV, 64	195	196
HA08918	Septimius Severus	L SEPT SEV [ ] AVG IMP X	[ ]NNONAE AVGG	3.84	IV, 107	197	198
HA08919	Septimius Severus	L SEPT SEV PERT AVG IMP IIII	P M TR P III COS II P P	2.65	IV, 52	194	195
HA08920	Septimius Severus	SEVERVS PIVS AVG	VICT PART MAX	2.90	IV, 295	202	210
HA08921	Septimius Severus	[ ]	REC [ ] BIS	2.44	IV, 287	202	210
HA08922	Septimius Severus	[ ] SEV PE [ ]	[ ] COS II P P	2.51	IV, 53	194	195
HA08923	Septimius Severus	L SEPT SEV PERT AVG IMP X	VICT AVGG COS II P P	2.22	IV, 120c	197	198
HA08924	Septimius Severus	L SEPT [ ] IMP VII	ARAB ADI [ ] P	3.02	IV, 64	195	196
HA08925	Julia Domna	IVL [ ] VGVSTA	DIA [ ] ERA	2.82	IV, 638	196	202
HA08926	Julia Domna	IVLIA AVGVSTA	SAECVLI FELICITAS	2.91	IV, 577	196	211
HA08927	Julia Domna	IVLIA AVGVSTA	SAECVLI FELICITAS	3.06	IV, 577	196	211
HA08928	Julia Domna	IVLIA AVGVSTA	PIETAS PVB[ ]	3.42	IV, 574	196	211
HA08929	Julia Domna	IVLIA AVGVSTA	IVNO	3.24	IV, 559	196	211
HA08930	Caracalla	ANTONINVS PIVS AVG GERM	P M TR P XVII COS IIII P P	3.37	IV, 240	214	214
HA08931	Caracalla	ANTONINVS PIVS AVG BRIT	PROVIDENTIAE DEORVM	3.03	IV, 227	210	213
HA08932	Plautilla	PLAVTILLA AVGVSTA	VENVS VICTRIX	3.00	IV, 369	202	205
HA08933	Caracalla	ANTONINVS PIVS AVG	FELICITAS AVGG	3.36	IV, 127	201	210
HA08934	Geta	L SEPTIMIVS GETA CAES	SPEI PERPETVAE	3.47	IV, 96	198	200
HA08935	Geta	P SEPT GETA CAES PONT	SEC [ ] IMPERII	3.39	IV, 20b	200	202
HA08936	Geta	P SEPT GETA CAES PONT	VICT AETERN	2.98	IV, 23	200	202
HA08937	Geta	P SEPT GETA CAES PONT	NOBILITAS	3.04	IV, 13a	200	202
HA08938	Macrinus	IMP CM OPEL SEV MACRINVS AVG	FIDES MILITVM	2.77	IV, 68b	217	218
Non-Hoard Coins							
HA08939	Postumus	IMP C POSTVMVS PF AVG	P M TR P [ ]	3.43		260	268
HA08940	Constantine I	CONSTANTINVS AVG	VIRTVS EXERCIT (N/S//PLG)	2.34	VII, 107	320	320

Notes

[1]Helmsley Archive, http://www.helmsleyarchive.org.uk/thumbnails.php?album=60, 07 July 2017.

[2]National Archives (1901), Class RG13; Piece 4550; Folio 8; Page 7.

[3]National Archives of the UK (TNA) (1911), Class RG14; Piece 29060.

[4]Probate search services, https://www.gov.uk/search-will-probate, 18 October 2016,
Benjamin Frank, date of death 19 January 1932, Probate York 23 August 1932.

[5]Helmsley Archive, http://www.helmsleyarchive.org.uk/info/HA09141.pdf, 07 July 2017.

[6]Helmsley Archive, http://www.helmsleyarchive.org.uk/info/HA09142.pdf, 07 July 2017.

[7]Helmsley Archive, http://www.helmsleyarchive.org.uk/info/HA09140.pdf, 07 July 2017.

[8]M. Kitson Clark (1935), *Roman Malton Report No 5 Gazetteer of Roman Remains in East Yorkshire.*
Yorkshire Archaeological Society, p. 111.

[9]Anne S. Robertson (2000), in R. Hobbs and T.V. Buttrey (Eds), *An Inventory of Romano-British Coin
Hoards.* London: Royal Numismatic Society, p. 86; entry 399.

[10]J. McDonnell (Ed.) (1963), *A History of Helmsley, Rievaulx and District*, Appendix A (xiii), p. 407.

[11]RHH Personal copy of Kitson Clark Gazetteer, Ryedale Folk Museum.

[12]Genuki: Kirkdale Parish, http://www.genuki.org.uk/big/eng/YKS/NRY/Kirkdale/Kirkdale90.html, 23
February 2017; Description(s) *Bulmer's History and Directory of North Yorkshire (1890).*

[13]I.M. Stead (1971), Beadlam Roman Villa, an Interim Report. *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, vol. 43,
p. 179.

[14]I.M. Stead (1971), Beadlam Roman Villa, an Interim Report. *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, vol. 43,
p. 186.

[15]D.S. Neal (1996), *Excavation on the Roman Villa at Beadlam.* Yorkshire Archaeological Society, p. 63.

[16]*RIC* references in appendix refer to *Roman Imperial Coinage* volumes, a digital version of which is
available at http://numismatics.org/ocre/.

[17]Philippa J. Walton (2012), *Rethinking Roman Britain: Coinage and Archaeology.* Moneta: Wetteren, p.
38.

[18]Patrick Ottaway (2004), *Roman York.* Stroud: Tempus, pp. 80-1.

[19]H. Gitler and M. Ponting (2003), *The Silver Coinage of Septimius Severus and His Family 193–211 AD. A
Study of the Chemical Composition of the Roman and Eastern Issues.* Milan: Glaux, 16.

[20]R.A. Abdy (2012), The Severans, in William E. Metcalf (Ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Greek and Roman
Coinage.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 507-10.

[21]Michael A. Speidel (2014), Roman Army Pay Scales Revisited: Responses and Answers, in Reddé (Ed.),
L'or pour les Braves! Soldes, Armées et Circulation Monétaire dans le Monderomain. Bordeaux: Ausonius,
pp. 53-62.

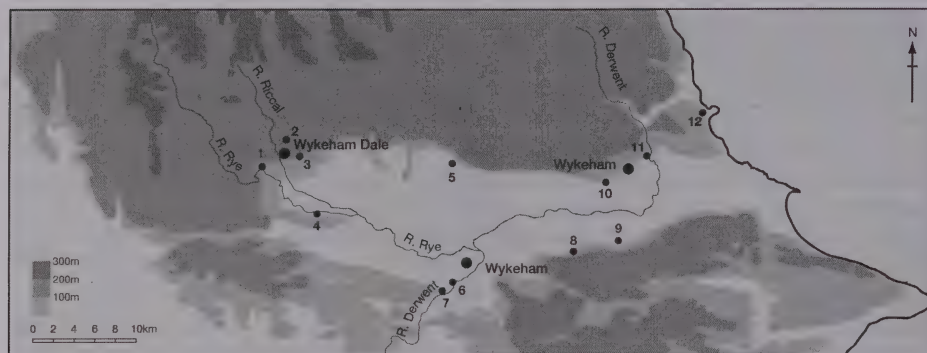# Three 'Wykeham' Place-Names in the Vale of Pickering
by Steven Bassett

Many instances of the place-name Wickham and its cognate form Wykeham occur in the modern English landscape;[1] but only a handful are currently known in northern England, three of which are in the Vale of Pickering. Among these names are some which derive from Old English (OE) *wīc-hām,[2] a word which is not otherwise recorded in contemporary texts, but which occurs sufficiently often in place-names for it to be reliably recognised as an OE compound term with a specialised meaning.[3] In a seminal paper published half a century ago Margaret Gelling, the doyenne of twentieth-century English place-name studies, argued that wīc-hām was a technical term which 'might have been used by the earliest English-speaking people in Britain to refer to actual Romano-British settlements, or to Roman administrative units.'[4] The OE word wīc, she contended, was derived from the Latin word vicus, the term for the smallest unit of local government in the Roman Empire, probably having been learnt, and at length adopted as a loan-word, by Germanic peoples in continental Europe from their regular contacts with Roman merchants, civic officials and other Latin speakers.

Gelling's thesis has now become universally accepted by place-name scholars, archaeologists and historians. She taught us that, by the time that wīc came to be used by Germanic settlers in Britain in coining place-names (an unconscious activity which gives them their potential value as historical evidence[5]), its meaning, and indeed that of vicus, may have changed. By the fourth century AD the latter may have come to denote any sizeable Romano–British settlement with an element of self-government;[6] and the last half-century of archaeological investigation of 'the end of Roman Britain' has shown that many such settlements are likely to have continued to exist far into the fifth century and, sometimes, beyond it.[7]

Therefore, when Germanic settlers, arriving in or after the fifth century, described somewhere as a wīc-hām, they were acknowledging that it was a settlement which had been built in a recognisably 'Romano–British' way and which was surrounded by a discrete land-unit – what the settlers referred to in their own language as its hām. They would have seen that its British inhabitants were still farming the hām, and that the rapidly deteriorating economic conditions of early post-Roman Britain were forcing them to acquire most, and (as time passed) increasingly all, of their other subsistence needs from it. Such early post-Roman land-units may often have been considerably larger than the average late medieval manor or parish; and so a surviving place-name derived from wīc-hām will normally belong today to an area – typically, a parish – which represents only a portion (and almost certainly not an exactly preserved portion) of the original land-unit to which the name initially referred. Meanwhile, each other new territory formed by the wīc-hām land-unit's fission would in time have been given its own distinctive OE name. As a result, it is usually very hard to envisage where the outer limits of the original wīc-hām land-unit would have lain.[8]

In a very few cases a name in wīc alone – what place-name scholars term a simplex name – might also have been given to a place which had been an important Roman settlement, and which continued to be important or perhaps resumed being so in and after the seventh century.[9] Three well-known examples are Droitwich (Worcestershire) and Middlewich and

Northwich (both Cheshire), each of which was located on the former site of a Romano-British 'small town' and was at first referred to by OE speakers simply as *Wic* or *Wich*.[10]


Map 1: The location of the three Wykehams in the Vale of Pickering. Key: 1. Helmsley 2. Pockley. 3. Beadlam. 4. Nunnington. 5. Pickering. 6. Old Malton. 7. New Malton. 8. West Heslerton. 9. Sherburn. 10. Brompton-by-Sawdon. 11. West Ayton. 12. Scarborough. (Map: Sandra Oakins)

Only one of the three instances of a Wykeham place-name in the Vale of Pickering was listed by Gelling as being derived from *wīc-hām* (see Map 1 above). She did not discuss either of the other two. One of them is Wykeham Dale, a small valley, now dry, which is almost wholly within the civil parish of Pockley, a short distance to the east of Helmsley. It is highly unlikely that Gelling knew about this name, since it was overlooked by the English Place-Name Society's survey of the North Riding;[11] it is a good candidate, however, for recognition as another *wīc-hām* name. The other is Wykeham at the north end of the parish of Old Malton, which is definitely not a *wīc-hām* name, but which is nonetheless of considerable linguistic and historical interest, because it adjoins the former Roman fort and 'small town' of Malton and because its original OE name may have been *Wich*.

Wykeham, near Scarborough

This is one of the 28 original examples of a *wīc-hām* place-name which Margaret Gelling identified. The earliest known forms of the name are found in Domesday Book as *Wicham* and *Wicam*;[12] and these, together with other, later occurrences in medieval written sources, left her in no doubt as to its derivation from OE *wīc-hām*.[13] Gelling could not cite direct evidence of a Romano–British settlement in or close to Wykeham. However, she noted that a locally important Roman road was thought to run through the parish, and that 'pagan Saxon huts' had been found there in excavations undertaken in the early 1950s which had produced 'a small quantity of Roman material, some of which is ascribed by the excavator to the late 4th century'.[14] This road's existence may now be considered by some to be uncertain; but air photographic evidence shows that there were many minor roads (usually referred to nowadays as 'trackways') in the vicinity of Wykeham in the Roman period, and it is unlikely that none of them ran across the Vale.[15] The so-called Wykeham–Sherburn moraine would have offered a valuable natural routeway through its wettest areas.[16] More

generally, the southern flank of the Tabular Hills, between the Pickering area and West Ayton on the River Derwent, appears to have been settled and farmed intensively in the Roman period, with many of the sites which have been found from the air being located in the immediate vicinity of Wykeham,[17] and with even better evidence of similarly dense occupation and land use having been recovered along the opposite, southern side of the Vale.[18]
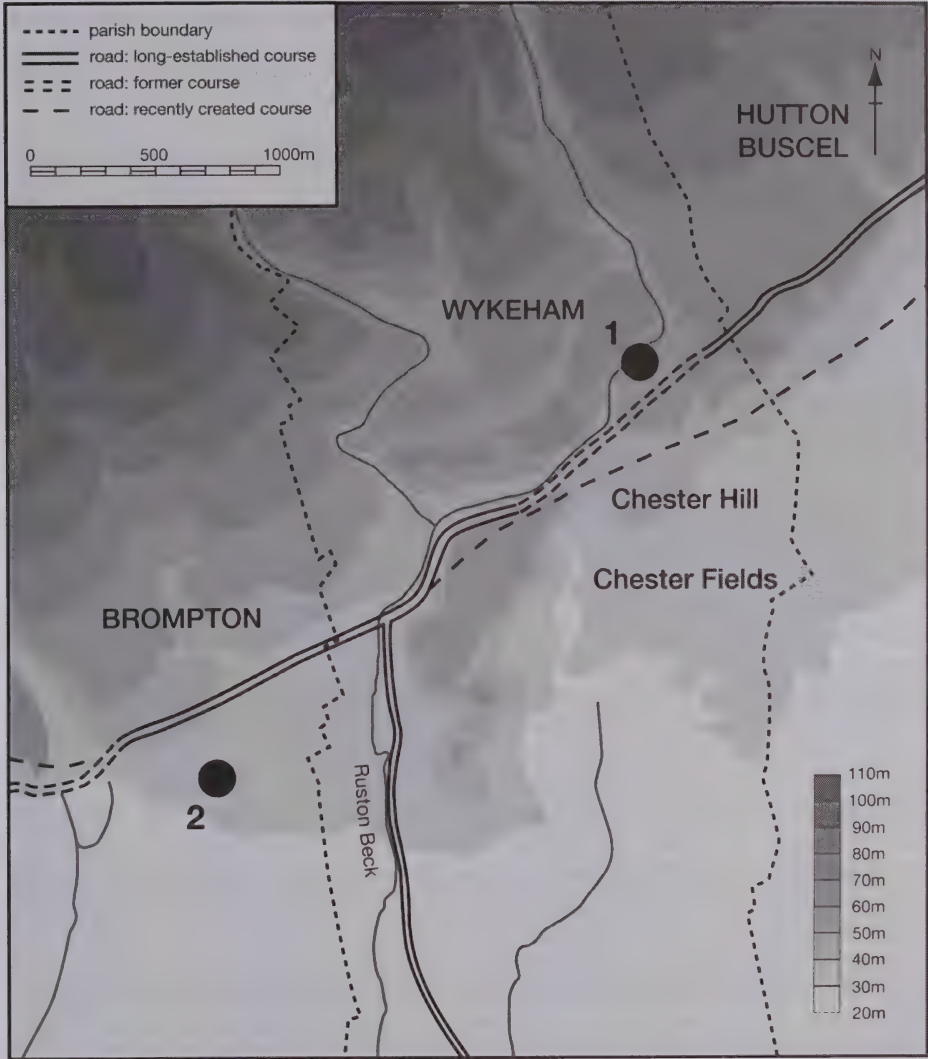
Map 2: Wykeham, near Scarborough, and its vicinity. Key: 1. Wykeham's early Anglo-Saxon settlement site. 2. Romano–British settlement site. (Map: Sandra Oakins)

The early Anglo-Saxon settlement at Wykeham is now thought to have been larger than originally believed and to have been already in existence in the fifth century.[19] Although

many of the structures found there are of characteristically early Anglo-Saxon type, some showed what has been interpreted as Romano–British influence.[20] The 'Roman material' which Gelling noted included potsherds of Crambeck and Huntcliff (aka Signal Station) wares (both of which types are claimed to have been produced into the early fifth century), and fragments of hypocaust flue tile.[21] This material was found on the floors of a number of the buildings in association with characteristically early Anglo-Saxon artefacts, and in some cases might have been stratified above the latter.[22] While the ethnic composition of the settlement's occupants can not be satisfactorily determined, there can be little doubt that the several pieces of hypocaust flue tile indicate the presence nearby of a high-status masonry building, probably a villa complex. John Moore, whose report on his excavations is remarkably ahead of its time in terms of his understanding of the evidence which he uncovered of native–immigrant relations, was sure that there had been no Romano–British settlement on this site.[23] He may have been mistaken in this belief;[24] but even if he was not, the building with the hypocaust, and the others which may be reasonably assumed to have accompanied it, arguably lie undetected elsewhere in the Wykeham area (since it is unlikely that the tile fragments would have been brought over any great distance to where Moore found them).

One possible location is in the area known as Chester Hill and, to the south of it, Chester Fields. These two names, noted by the Ordnance Survey in the mid nineteenth century, apply to a substantial area in the southeastern part of Wykeham.[25] Modern place-names derived from OE *ceaster*, or its Anglian form *cæster*, may be safely regarded 'as a general indication of Roman remains',[26] normally but not invariably ones incorporating masonry. In the absence of forms of the names Chester Hill and Chester Fields which are significantly earlier than the ones recorded in the nineteenth century there can be no certainty that these instances of the two names are ancient, let alone that they are derived from OE *ceaster*, *cæster*. Indeed, it has been suggested that they merely reflect 'the lands of Jane Chester, widow' which are referred to in a land conveyance of 1811.[27] This argument is unconvincing, however, since it takes no account of the considerable distance between the two areas concerned. Jane Chester's lands bordered the southern boundary of the land being conveyed, of which the name (Martin High Close) and the other recorded abuttals place it to the north both of the modern A170 – the Pickering-to-Scarborough road – and of its now abandoned ancient predecessor through Wykeham (see Map 2),[28] which would always have acted as a substantial divider of individuals' lands. Chester Hill and Chester Fields, however, lay well to the south of both roads. Moreover, if the names had been coined to signify ownership by the Chester family they would very probably have occurred as Chester's Hill and Chester's Fields, the customary form taken by proprietorial names of post-medieval coinage.[29]

It is also likely to be of little significance that a number of shallow trenches excavated on Chester Hill in 1926 produced 'negative results'.[30] These were located around the top of the hill. No attempt was made to investigate the extensive, lower-lying area of Chester Fields, which (by analogy with sites found by air photography elsewhere on the southern flank of the Tabular Hills) is where any Romano–British settlement is much likelier to have been situated. A substantial one, presumed to be of late Iron Age and Roman date, has been found by air photography just under two kilometres to the west-south-west, located in fields which lie mainly to the south of the A170 between Brompton-by-Sawdon and Wykeham. It extended for about 430m along both sides of a north–south road and covered at least 2.7ha.[31] Such 'ladder settlements' are well known in eastern Yorkshire, with examples having been found from the air along both sides of the Vale of Pickering,

and they also have been plotted by intensive geophysical survey in the fields between West Heslerton and Sherburn.[32] Among the many roadside enclosures in the Brompton settlement a large one in the middle of its western side contained two probably stone-built structures, both rectangular, which 'suggest a complexity beyond that of a simple farmstead'.[33]

No part of this settlement has yet been excavated and so there is no artefactual evidence from which to determine either for how long it existed (it may not have survived into the late Roman period, for instance, let alone to the time when OE speakers were settled in the vicinity) or, indeed, if there is any likelihood that it ever had a local administrative role. For the time being, therefore, it is impossible to say where the settlement was located to which the *wīc* element of Wykeham's name referred. It may have been the one found in eastern Brompton; if so, the excavated Anglian site was certainly close enough to lie within its territory. It may have been an as yet undiscovered villa in the Chester Fields area: although stone-built villas of the conventional sort are rare in the north of Yorkshire,[34] it is intrinsically likely that more will be found, and the hypocaust flue tiles from Moore's excavation are unmistakable evidence of one's existence in the Wykeham area. Or, despite Moore's rejection of the idea, the villa may have been in the immediate vicinity of his excavations, situated on ground which is higher, and so better drained, than the Chester Fields area.
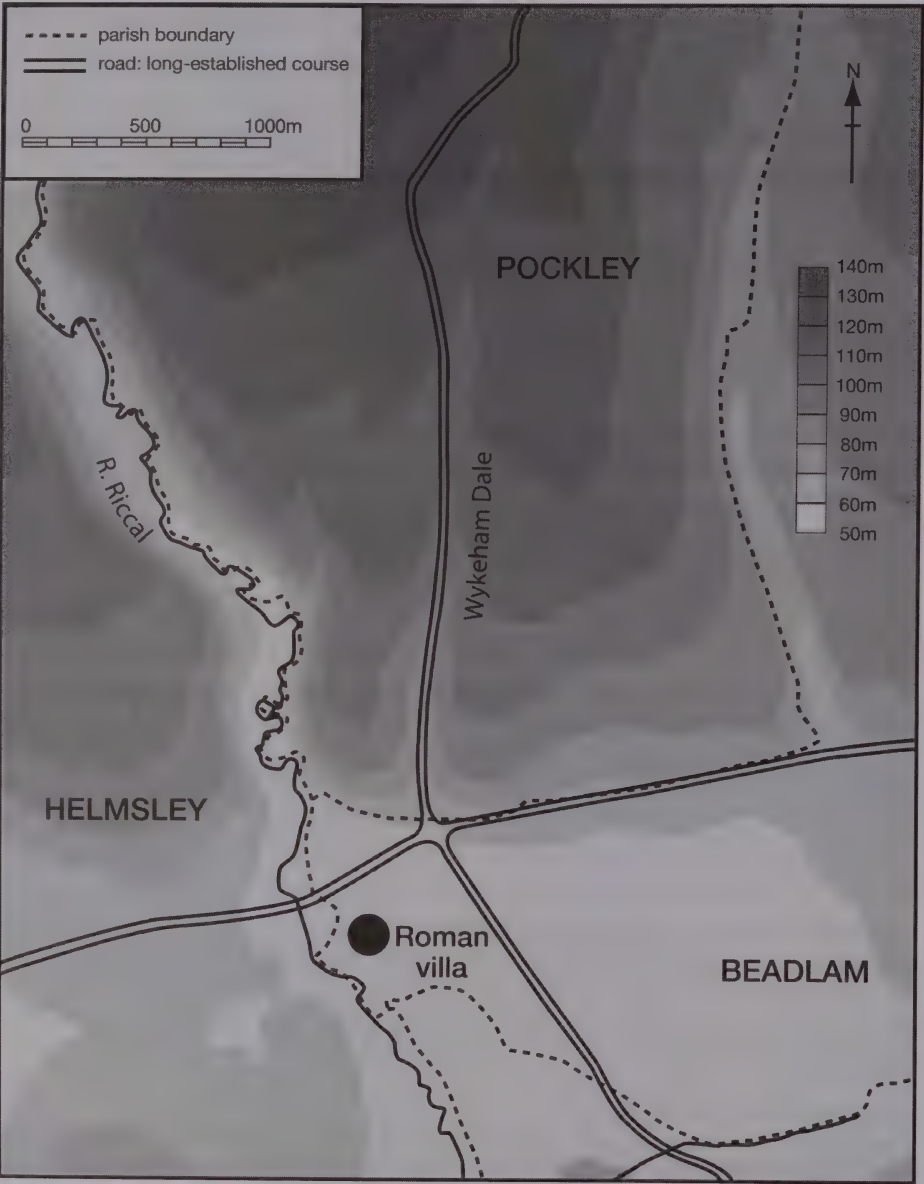

Wykeham Dale, near Helmsley

Wykeham Dale is the short, dry valley of a stream which, when it ran above ground, rose in Pockley and, flowing in a mainly southerly direction, joined the River Riccal near to the northwestern corner of Beadlam (the easternmost township in the large ecclesiastical parish of Helmsley). No record of the valley's name has been found prior to the nineteenth century. In mid-century, the Ordnance Survey placed the names Wykeham Dale, Wykeham Dale Hill and Wykeham Dale Quarries on the first edition of its six-inch series of maps; and Wykeham Dale Plantation, too, figures on the map's second edition. A survey of the Duncombe family's lands in Pockley made in 1823 has an entry for Wykeham Dale Stone Quarries.[35]

Early spellings of any individual name need to be found if its original form, and hence its meaning, is to be capable of being worked out. In practice many OE names can not be given an undoubtedly accurate etymology for lack of early spellings. If the earliest record of the name is in Domesday Book (1086), for instance, or in an even later source, its original form and its meaning often can not be established. When it is not first recorded until the later modern period, as may be the case here, it is usually impossible to determine if the name is an anciently coined one; nonetheless, very occasionally there may be value in discussing it, such as when its local context suggests that the name might be a historically important one. In the present case all known records of the name's existence relate to an area immediately to the north of the site of the major Romano–British villa at Beadlam, where occupation is known to have continued beyond the end of the Roman period and the villa's main structures are likely to be those referred to in Beadlam's own OE name ('at the buildings').[36]

The valley named Wykeham Dale has a topographically obvious course both in Pockley township and, in particular, as it approaches the latter's southern boundary where the

surface geology forces it into a narrow defile, now utilised by a minor road which runs northwards from the Helmsley-to-Pickering road (A170) to the village of Pockley.

Map 3: Wykeham Dale, near Helmsley, and its vicinity. (Map: Sandra Oakins)

(Nothing is known about the date of origin of either of these roads, but there must have been at least one Roman road in the villa's vicinity.) By contrast, the valley immediately disappears to the south of the A170, which suggests that the stream which formed the valley dried up long before the Roman period, at a time when the Riccal, of which it must

have been a tributary, ran at a higher level than that of its Roman, let alone its modern, course. The Beadlam villa sits on a flat, slightly raised area of land in the immediate vicinity of what must once have been the confluence of the Riccal and the Wykeham Dale stream.

The valleys formed by rivers and streams flowing off the North York Moors and the Hambleton and Howardian Hills have names of different sorts, none of them being of modern coinage. Many, such as Bilsdale, Bransdale, Fangdale and Raisdale, have a personal name as their first element,[37] while others have a descriptive term, e.g. Deep Dale (in Ebberston), Staindale (in Helmsley, and also in Lockton), and Wheeldale (in Egton).[38] The next most commonly found qualifiers of OE *dæl* and its Old Norse equivalent *dalr* in the region are river- and stream-names (e.g. Glaisdale and Ryedale) and, second, the names of the territories which contained most or all of the valley, such as Fylingdales, Newtondale (in Pickering), and Thornton Dale.[39] Another instance of the last sort, situated only a short distance to the east of Wykeham Dale, is Nawtondale[40] – i.e. 'valley associated with Nawton'. Wykeham Dale itself would also be a valley-name of this type if Wykeham were once to have been the name of a land-unit.[41] What makes this notion worth considering further is the possibility, albeit unprovable in the absence of early forms of the name, that the first part of Wykeham Dale's name represents an otherwise lost *wīc-hām*, coined for reference to an early post-Roman (i.e. British) land-unit centred on the Beadlam villa.

The core of the villa complex comprised stone buildings ranged around three sides of a courtyard. In the early twentieth century these were still visible as earthworks, which were thought to be of late medieval date until a small, unpublished excavation in 1928 recovered Roman artefacts. Extensive excavations followed between 1966 and 1978.[42] It is likely, then, that after occupation of the villa had ended it decayed over a long period of time, giving rise to the OE name Beadlam, 'at the buildings' – a place-name which sometimes conveys the sense of 'an important centre, a central place'.[43] When occupation of the villa buildings ceased is unknown, but it almost certainly lasted far into the fifth century and perhaps beyond.[44] It is possible, but by no means generally agreed, that one of the villa's latest structures – Building 5 in the east range – served as a Christian church;[45] and there is compelling evidence that the site had an important role in the district's trade and manufacturing until its eventual abandonment.[46]

There is very little explicit evidence of the presence of Germanic settlers in the western half of the Vale of Pickering before the seventh century, but there is no reason to think that this must mean that the area was uninhabited in the early post-Roman period. Philip Rahtz's judgement of the probable situation, given in 1999, still can not be bettered:

> Evidence is growing, and not only in East Yorkshire, that Roman Britain, in the sense of the material culture found by archaeologists, includes all of the fifth century and beyond; the major changes in East Yorkshire are with the establishment of 'Anglo-Saxon' settlements and their cemeteries (notably absent in Ryedale) in the sixth century. Many of the finds, including the large amounts of pottery, could thus be 'residual' material still in use.[47]

Wykeham, near Malton

The hamlet of Wykeham lies at the northern end of the ecclesiastical parish of Old Malton, close to where the River Derwent is joined by its major tributary, the Rye. Today the name is known only to the local population, and access to this tiny settlement is by a narrow country lane, easily missed by those travelling along the A169 off which it runs. In 1086, however, four substantial, adjacent land-units, each named Wykeham, comprised nearly one-quarter of the area of the large ecclesiastical parish of Old Malton.[48]
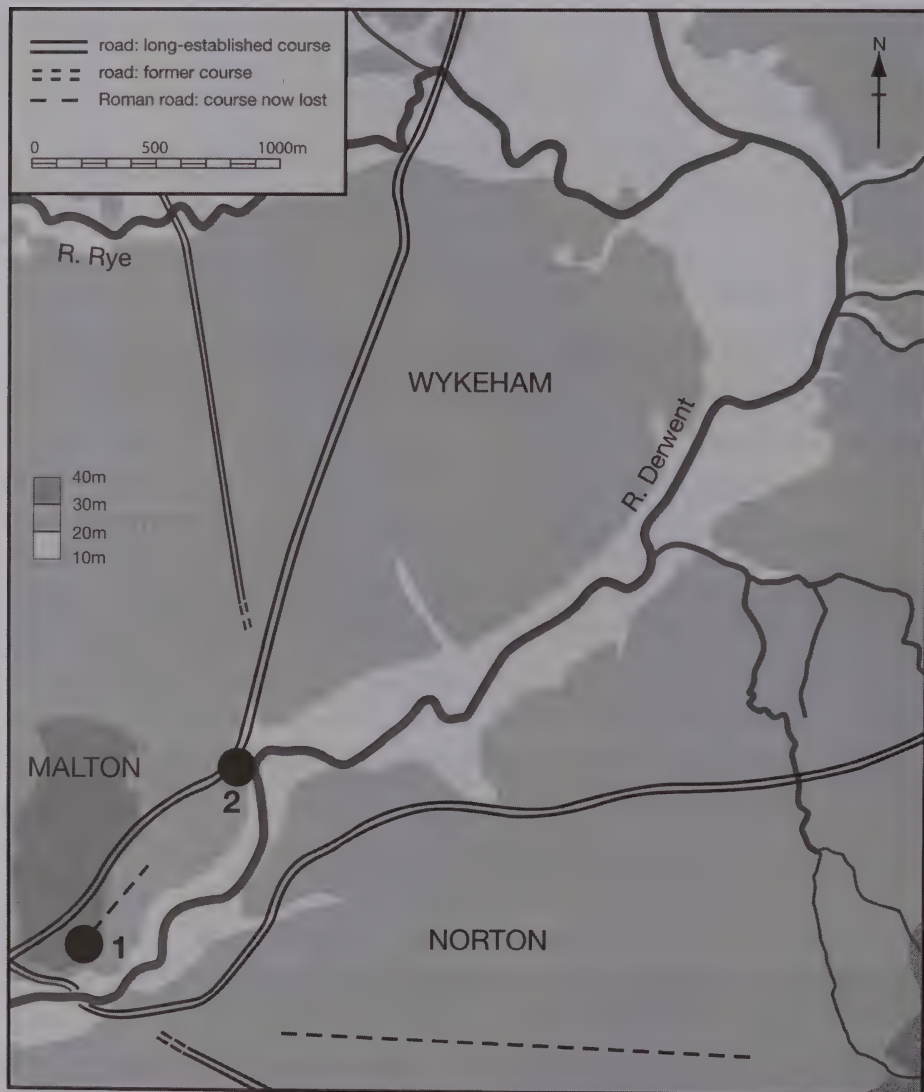
Map 4: Wykeham in Old Malton and its vicinity. Key: 1. Site of the Roman fort. 2. Site of the Old Malton minster. (Map: Sandra Oakins)

The place-name's earliest recorded spellings, found in Domesday Book, can leave no doubt that Wykeham is not a name derived from *wīc-hām*. Instead, it is possible that it represents one of a small group of places in Anglo-Saxon England which were originally named *Wīc* (which would have been first written down as either Wic or Wich), but which were of far more contemporary importance than the great majority of places with a simplex name in *wīc*. As was noted above, this small group includes Droitwich, Middlewich, Northwich and perhaps also Nantwich (Cheshire), which were all at first called *Wīc* (Wich) – places which developed in close proximity to important former Roman sites.[49] Most simplex names in *wīc*, by contrast, mean no more than 'dependent farm', of which there are very many examples in lowland Britain.[50]

This may seem a counter-intuitive explanation of this Wykeham's etymology, given that its modern form is identical to that of Wykeham, near Scarborough, which indisputably derives from OE *wīc-hām*; but examining the name's six appearances in Domesday Book and its subsequent etymological evolution will justify rejecting such a derivation. However, there is considerable uncertainty about the name's exact linguistic origin. What follows, therefore, flags up its potential historical significance if, but only if, one of the two contending explanations of the name is correct. (If the one which is not being privileged here is correct, this Wykeham name is yet another example of the very many which are of little or no historical importance.)

Specifically, two immediately successive entries in the Yorkshire folios of Domesday Book are for a manor said to be at *Wicum* and for a second one *in alia Wiche* ('in another/the other [area named] *Wiche*'). Both were royal demesne manors, but in 1086 they were in the hands of different tenants.[51] In addition, the archbishop of York had a small manor at *Wichum*; and Ralph Paynel held some land there, also recorded as being called *Wichum*, which was attached for administrative purposes to his large manor of Nunnington.[52] All four of these land-units lay in the extensive parish of the minster at Old Malton.[53] Each had a name with an etymological origin identical to that of the names of the other three. When each of these four land-units was formed is unknown, but in every case it would have been in the pre-Conquest period, although almost certainly at different times within it;[54] originally, however, there had been a single, undivided land-unit within Old Malton parish. (This is indisputable, irrespective of which of the two competing explanations of Wykeham's name is correct.)

What that name actually was may be indicated by two more entries in Domesday Book, these being ones recorded in a major addendum to the Yorkshire folios which is often called the Summary (since it summarises the information given in the preceding folios). In it, one of the royal manors is said to be *In Wich* and the other one to be *In alia Wich* ('In another/the other *Wich*'), while in the immediately following entry the archbishop's manor is recorded as being 'In the same place' (*Ibidem*), i.e. also in *Wich*.[55] What makes these entries particularly significant is that the Domesday scribe's source for the Summary of the contents of the Yorkshire folios is widely accepted to have come from an earlier stage of the Inquest than the circuit returns and, very probably, to have been derived ultimately from pre-Domesday geld assessment records.[56] Therefore, whether by only a few months or by several years or more, the place-name spellings preserved in the Summary pre-date those preserved in the main Yorkshire text (if we assume that the Domesday scribe was following his usual practice with regard to transcribing the place-name and personal-name spellings in his source materials), and may therefore be reckoned to be a more reliable indication of a name's original form than those recorded in Domesday Book.[57]

In the Summary, then, all three manors are called *Wich*, which we may reasonably take to have been the name of the original land-unit from which each (and also Nunnington's sokeland at Wykeham) had been formed by fission. The name *Wich* represents the nominative or accusative singular of *wīc*, or else its 'endingless locative' singular.[58] By contrast, the Yorkshire folios' entries for Wykeham record its name as *Wiche*, which represents *wīce*, the dative singular of *wīc*, and as *Wicum/Wichum*, which both represent *wīcum*, its dative plural. The literal meaning of *Wiche* and *Wicum/Wichum* (i.e., properly, *wīce* and *wīcum*) is 'at the place/s named *Wīc*'. Why several variants of Wykeham's original name should have been recorded in the returns on which the Domesday scribe based his entries is not at all clear,[59] but it may be significant that the largest of the holdings – the royal manor held by Thorkil in 1066 – is called by the singular *Wich(e)* in both entries which relate to it.

In the light of this it is easy to see how Wykeham's name developed its modern form. The cartulary of Malton Priory, a thirteenth-century compilation with some fourteenth-century additions, contains the following name forms: *Wiche, Wicham, Wichum, Wycum, Vycum, Wicum, Wychum, Wikum* and *Westwykum*.[60] It is clear from these that within two centuries or so of the compilation of Domesday Book the place's name, however it was spelled, was often pronounced as the phonetic equivalent of Wykeham. The form *Westwykum* is especially telling, since it locates Wykeham in relation to its eastern namesake (as it must have been thought to be by then), Wykeham near Scarborough, which lies only 12 miles or so to the northeast. (The linguistic development which can not be seen, however, is the one occurring before 1086 which resulted in the several different spellings of Wykeham's name recorded in Domesday Book's many references to it. No new light can be thrown on that issue.)

As has already been noted, *wīc* is a word with a variety of meanings, of which most denote a land-unit or settlement of only local importance. If, as has been argued here, Wykeham in Old Malton parish was originally named *Wīc* (and pronounced *Wīch*), it may have been so called on account of its proximity, and relationship, to the important former Roman fort and 'small town' at Malton.[61] If so, the only infrequently encountered meaning, 'place where non-agricultural commercial activity is carried out',[62] is likely to be appropriate for this particular Wykeham's name. It has been very well established that '*Wīc* never, ever, meant "town"', but that it always denoted a dependent place and 'was applied to trading stations among other places. The prototypes were those outside walled or other central places, most typically Roman fortified towns.'[63] One of the key sites in this proposition is Wijk-bij-Duurstede in the Netherlands (known to English-speaking scholars as Dorestad), which was one of the most important early medieval trading centres on the North Sea. It is thought to be a *vicus* of the former Roman fort named *Levefanum*, hence the original form, **wīk*, of the first element of its modern name, which is the equivalent of OE *wīc*.[64] In England a similarly seventh-century and later trading place just to the west of the former Roman town of London, based on the riverside road named The Strand, was known to contemporaries as *Lundenwic*;[65] and there are other contemporary examples.[66]

What happened to the substantial settlement within and surrounding the walled fort at Malton in the centuries after the conventional end of the Roman period is unknown. It is clear from archaeological evidence that occupation continued through much of the fifth century,[67] but we can not say for how long it lasted thereafter. One clue is the recent discovery, made by a metal detectorist in the vicinity of Malton, of a Merovingian gold tremissis minted in Paris *c*. 620-40,[68] a coin so valuable that its presence there points

unmistakably to the place's importance in the seventh century. Another clue may come from Malton's own name. Very few post-Roman settlements which overlie or adjoin a substantial walled Romano–British one lack a name in OE *ceaster*, 'old fortification'.[69] Although Malton would undoubtedly have qualified for such a name, it has one which means 'speech land-unit' (OE *mæðel* + *tūn*), presumably in the sense of 'land-unit in which councils were held'.[70] Although the earliest surviving record of it appears in Domesday Book, the name was probably centuries old by then. It is not unlikely, then, that Malton retained a significant element of its regional importance into the post-Roman period, acting as a central place for royal administration in the adjacent parts of the Vale of Pickering and the Wolds.[71] If that was so, it may have had a trading area nearby – a *wīc*, in the sense of a 'place where non-agricultural commercial activity is carried out' – which was accessible both by river and by road. (It is bounded to the north and east by the Derwent, on which Roman Malton had also been located, which was navigable as far as Malton and Wykeham in the Roman period, as it doubtless also was thereafter; and it had many roads of Roman construction radiating from it.[72])

It is undoubtedly significant, then, that two 'productive' sites have been found by metal detectorists 'near Malton'. Such sites are so called because they have yielded large numbers of coins, and they are consequently thought likely to be where regular markets were held.[73] The specific locations of the two sites 'near Malton' are uncertain, but both appear to have been near to the A64 to the east of the Derwent.[74] They have produced sceattas and stycas ranging in date from the late seventh century to the late ninth, including ones from major trading sites on the North Sea and Baltic Sea coastlines of mainland continental Europe (such as Quentovic, near Boulogne-sur-Mer in northwest France, and Ribe in Jutland), and also at least one Islamic dirham.[75] Local inland markets at which coinage, and so presumably goods too, from the Frankish world and beyond were available would have needed a nearby *êntrepot*, a distribution centre which was accessible from the North Sea by boats of shallow draught. Malton was well situated to play such a role in and after the seventh century, since it could be reached from the sea via the Ouse and the Derwent. If so, the *wīc* to which Wykeham's name testifies can now be seen to have had an important historical context.

Concluding Remarks

Throwing light on, and understanding, what happened in a particular area in the period between the earliest part of the fifth century, conventionally viewed as 'the end of Roman Britain', and the later seventh century, when reliable information from written sources first becomes available again, is less challenging now than it was when, in 1967, Margaret Gelling first explained the significance of *wīc-hām* names. This is mainly as a result of two essential advances made in the intervening years. The first is a great increase in the quantity and quality of archaeological evidence available for the fifth, sixth and seventh centuries from, in particular, settlements, cemeteries and boundaries, and in our ability to date them. The second is the developing of hypotheses ('historical models') for envisaging what happened in these centuries which are no longer primarily based on the myths and legends recorded in heavily biased sources such as Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* and the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicles*, but which are fully interdisciplinary ones. That is to say, they seek to combine the separate conclusions of historians, archaeologists, place-name scholars and landscape historians into a mutually accepted model (or, in reality, a number of models,

since it will never be possible, or indeed healthy, for all experts in this field to agree completely).[76]

The broad implications for the Vale of Pickering of this new historical modelling are that the political events which affected Britain at the end of the fourth century and the start of the fifth are unlikely to have had more than a superficial impact on most inhabitants of this area. The subsequent collapse of the former Roman province's centralised, highly monetarised economy in and after the second decade of the fifth century would have made life increasingly hard, and at length impossible, for the occupants of stone-built villas; but for those living in timber buildings, as the great majority of the local population must have been, it would have mattered far less that the industrial production of building materials and pottery came to an end,[77] that luxury foodstuffs and other elite goods ceased being imported, and even that monetarised trading gave way to barter as late Roman Britain's sophisticated market economy was slowly but surely replaced by an early post-Roman economy of subsistence and exchange.

When Germanic immigrants began settling in the Vale of Pickering by no later than the early sixth century they would therefore have found themselves among indigenous people whose technological abilities and standards of living were no better, and in some respects were worse, than those which they themselves had had in their continental homelands. Nonetheless, the *wīc-hām* name which they coined when settled in the area now known as Wykeham near Scarborough, and perhaps also in the vicinity of Wykeham Dale in Beadlam and Pockley, reveals the continuing existence, in some form or other, of a former Romano–British settlement – a villa or a hamlet – which was still exercising a measure of administrative control over its neighbourhood. This indicates that, notwithstanding a marked deterioration in their lifestyle since the early fifth century, the inhabitants of the Vale of Pickering were still well organised; but it is unclear how far political and social controls had been imposed on them (again) of a more than merely local kind and, second, what contacts they customarily had with people outside their own region.

By the seventh century, however, the non-Northumbrian coins found at the two sites 'near Malton' provide unmistakable evidence that the Vale's wealthier inhabitants knew about, and were able to attract, exotic imports from the nearer parts of continental Europe and, perhaps, the Mediterranean world. This speaks of contacts not only with other parts of northeast England but also with other Anglo-Saxon kingdoms and with the Franks. If Wykeham near Malton denotes a place where non-agricultural commercial activity was carried out (i.e. as a mercantile *êntrepot* or, to use Anglo-Saxon scholars' terminology, an emporium), Malton and its adjacent *wīc* were an essential focal point for this inter-national trade. In other respects, too, Malton may have been among the region's most important centres in and after the seventh century, but demonstrating this will need a separate study.

Eilert Ekwall, an early twentieth-century expert on OE place-names, commented that, 'We know too little about the early history of the names in *wīc* north of the Humber.'[78] It is to be hoped that this present study will achieve a small but useful reduction of this relative ignorance.

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Notes

[1] V. E. Watts and J. Insley (2004), *The Cambridge Dictionary of English Place-Names*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 677-8, 706.

[2] The placing of an asterisk before a word such as *wīc-hām* is the convention used by philogists to indicate that it does not appear in OE literature, but is nonetheless known to have existed from its use in place-names as recorded in documentary sources. It is used twice in this article – once for *wīc-hām* and once for *wīk* (p. 24) – when the word concerned is being discussed as a word, not as a place-name.

[3] A. H. Smith (1987), *English Place-Name Elements*. English Place-Name Society, XXV-XXVI. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, part 2, p. 263.

[4] M. Gelling (1967), English Place-Names Derived from the Compound *wīchām*. *Medieval Archaeology* 11, pp. 87-104. She reinforced her argument in her (1978) *Signposts to the Past*. London: J. M. Dent & Sons Ltd, pp. 67-74 (quotation from p. 67); and in the book's second edition (1987) she added further probable examples of *wīc-hām* names: Addenda to Chapter Three: Latin Loan-Words in English Place-Names, in *ibid.*, pp. 245-50. Two of these are minor names in Yorkshire's West Riding: Wycomb Wells in Brompton en le Morthen and Wykeham Field Plantation in Owston (*ibid.*, p. 247).

[5] As was explained in F. T. Wainwright (1962), *Archaeology and Place-Names and History*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, a brilliant essay which has never been surpassed.

[6] Gelling (1978), *Signposts*, p. 71. Stephen Johnson (1975) had recently suggested that the modern concept of 'the village' might be the most appropriate parallel: Vici in Lowland Britain, in W. Rodwell and T. Rowley (Eds), *Small Towns of Roman Britain*. Oxford: British Archaeological Reports, British Series 15, pp. 75-83. Also see R. Coates (1999), New Light from Old Wicks: The Progeny of Latin *vicus*. *Nomina* 22, pp. 75-116, esp. pp. 75-7, 107-9.

[7] As has been well demonstrated at Wasperton (Warwickshire): M. O. H. Carver, C. Hills and J. Scheschkewitz (2009). *Wasperton: A Roman, British and Anglo-Saxon Community in Central England.* Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer. Northeastern Yorkshire examples include (1) Crossgates in Seamer: J. G. Rutter and G. Duke (1958). *Excavations at Crossgates, near Scarborough 1947-56*. Scarborough: Scarborough and District Archaeological Society, Research Report 1; G. R. Pye (1976), Excavations at Crossgates, near Scarborough in 1957-65. *Transactions of the Scarborough Archaeological & Historical Society* 3.19, pp. 1-22; (2) Wharram Percy and its vicinity: C. Hayfield (1988), The Origins of the Roman Landscape around Wharram Percy, East Yorkshire, in J. Price and P. R. Wilson (Eds), *Recent Research in Roman Yorkshire*. Oxford: British Archaeological Reports, British Series 193, pp. 99-122; and S. Wrathmell (2012), Early Anglo-Saxon Grazing Grounds, in S. Wrathmell (Ed.), *A History of Wharram Percy and its Neighbours*. York: York University Archaeological Publications 15, pp. 82-96; and (3) West Lilling: Anon. (2000), BP TSEP Site 169. Lilling Low Lane, West Lilling, National Grid Reference SE 640 644. (OSA99EX03). I am grateful to Nick Pearson of On-Site Archaeology for providing me with a copy of this unpublished report.

[8] The former Roman settlement would normally have lain towards the land-unit's centre. Very occasionally, the ecclesiastical parishes of the area concerned, at their early nineteenth-century and earlier extent, appear to perpetuate the boundary of such an early post-Roman land-unit, such as at Silchester (Hampshire) and Great Chesterford (Essex). See M. Biddle (1976), Hampshire and the Origins of Wessex, in G. Sieveking, I. Longworth and K. Wilson (Eds), *Problems in Economic and Social Archaeology*. London: Duckworth, pp. 323-42, at p. 334-5 and Fig. 3; and S. Bassett (1989), In Search of the Origins of Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms, in S. Bassett (Ed.), *The Origins of Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms*. London: Leicester University Press, pp. 3-27, at p. 25 and Fig. 1.12.

[9] Coates, New Light, at p. 88.

[10] A. Mawer and F. M. Stenton (1927), *The Place-Names of Worcestershire*. English Place-Name Society, IV. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 285-6; J. McN. Dodgson (1970-97), *The Place-Names of Cheshire*, 5 parts in 7 volumes. English Place-Name Society, XLIV-XLVIII, LIV and LXXIV. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, part 2, pp. 192-3 (Northwich), p. 232 (Middlewich). Nantwich, too, may have overlain a substantial Roman settlement: *ibid.*, part 3, p. 30. Droitwich is recorded 11 times in Domesday Book as *Wic* and 13 times as *Wich*. Middlewich, Northwich and Nantwich are all recorded there more than once as *Wich* (and by no other name). In almost all cases it is not known when a simplex name gained its qualifier (e.g. Droit-,   Middle-, North-, Nant-); it is merely possible to say by when it had gained it, as shown by the 'enlarged' name's first appearance in a dated or datable record. In general, such qualifiers are likely to have been added only when supralocal administrative records began to be made (e.g. in respect of an entire shire or even larger administrative area, within which there were often two or more examples of the same simplex name). The place-names recorded in, for example, Domesday Book do not have qualifiers, which caused later administrators many problems, hence their eventual addition. Another way of distinguishing identically named places from each other, found from the twelfth century onwards, was by

using a suffix which denoted the family name of the manorial lord – e.g. Stoke Mandeville, Stoke Poges, Stoke Dabernon.

[11] A. H. Smith (1928), *Place-Names of the North Riding of Yorkshire*. English Place-Name Society, V. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

[12] A. Farley (Ed.) (1783), *Domesday Book seu Liber Censualis Willelmi Primi Regis Angliae*, 2 vols. London: s.n. (hereafter DB), fos 299r, 300r, 333r, 380v; M. L. Faull and M. Stinson (Eds) (1986), *Domesday Book. 30: Yorkshire*, 2 parts. Chichester: Phillimore (hereafter *DB Yorkshire*), 1Y3, 1N43, 31N9, SN, D8.

[13] Smith, *Place-Names*, p. 99; Gelling, English Place-Names, p. 93.

[14] Gelling, English Place-Names, p. 93, citing I. D. Margary (1955-7), *Roman Roads in Britain*, 2 volumes. London: Phoenix House, II, p. 156 (where it was labelled as road 817), and J. W. Moore (1965), An Anglo-Saxon Settlement at Wykeham, North Yorkshire, *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* 163, pp. 403-44. For the road also see M. K. Clark (1935), *A Gazetteer of Roman Remains in East Yorkshire*. Roman Malton and District Reports, 5. York: Yorkshire Archaeological Society, Roman Antiquities Committee, pp. 41-2.

[15] Margary's road 817 is not recognised in P. Ottaway (2013), *Roman Yorkshire: People, Culture and Landscape*. Pickering: Blackthorn Press, but this may be only because he did not consider it to have been sufficiently important to show on his maps. (Ottaway describes Wade's Causeway, for instance, as a Roman road [p. 110] but omits it, as he does Margary's road 817, from his map showing Roman roads in Yorkshire [Illus. 1.1 on p. 2].) The existence of a Roman road between Sherburn and Wykeham is accepted by D. Powlesland (1988), Approaches to the Excavation and Interpretation of the Romano-British Landscape in the Vale of Pickering, in Price and Wilson (Eds), *Recent Research*, pp. 139-50, at p. 143. For the so-called trackways see the many relevant entries for Brompton-by-Sawdon, Wykeham and Hutton Buscel in Historic England's PastScape website: http://www.pastscape.org/.

[16] Clark, *Gazetteer*, pp. 41-2, 141; D. Powlesland (2011), Archaeological Excavations in Sherburn, Vale of Pickering, North Yorkshire, September 2011, landscaperesearchcentre.org/Archaeological%20Excavations%20Sherburn%202011.pdf, p. 1 (accessed 19 October 2016). Map 2 shows the former course of the A170 (with its modern, realigned, course being shown wherever it deviates from its former one), as also is the modern road which runs northwards from Sherburn to Wykeham. It is believed that, hereabouts, the latter approximately mirrors the course of Margary's Roman road 817, which in the Wykeham area moved northeastwards onto a line perpetuated in the former course of the A170 through Wykeham and Hutton Buscel.

[17] D. A. Spratt with B. Hartley (1993), The Roman Period (AD 70-410), in D. A. Spratt (Ed.), *Prehistoric and Roman Archaeology of North-East Yorkshire*. London: Council for British Archaeology, Research Report 87 (rev. ed.), pp. 155-65, at p. 160; Ottaway, *Roman Yorkshire*, pp. 68, 132-4; many entries in http://www.pastscape.org/.

[18] D. Powlesland (2003), *25 Years of Archaeological Research on the Sands and Gravels of Heslerton*. Yedingham: Landscape Research Centre, *passim*; P. Wilson (1995), The Yorkshire Moors in the Roman Period: Developments and Directions, in B. Vyner (Ed.), *Moorland Monuments: Studies in the Archaeology of North-east Yorkshire in Honour of Raymond Hayes and Don Spratt*. York: Council for British Archaeology, Research Report 101, pp. 69-78, at p. 75. However, Ramm thought that the excavation had shown an Anglian settlement to be overlapping a late Romano-British one: H. G. Ramm (1978), *The Parisi*. London: Duckworth, p. 135.

[19] Moore, Anglo-Saxon settlement; Anon. (1974), Archaeological Index for North-East Yorkshire 1973-74, *Transactions of the Scarborough Archaeological & Historical Society* 17, p. 25; M. L. Faull (1974), Roman and Anglian Settlement Patterns in Yorkshire, *Northern History* 9, pp. 1-25, at p. 16; M. L. Faull (1984), Settlement and Society in North-East England in the Fifth Century, in P. R. Wilson, R. F. J. Jones and D. M. Evans (Eds), *Settlement and Society in the Roman North*. Bradford: School of Archaeological Sciences, University of Bradford, and Leeds: Yorkshire Archaeological Society, Roman Antiquities Section, pp. 9-56, at pp. 49, 52, 54.

[20] P. Rahtz (1976), Appendix A. Gazetteer of Anglo-Saxon Domestic Settlement Sites, in D. M. Wilson (Ed.), *The Archaeology of Anglo-Saxon England*. London: Methuen, pp. 405-52, at p. 450; Faull, Settlement Patterns, p. 16; Faull, Settlement and Society, p. 52.

[21] Moore, Anglo-Saxon Settlement, pp. 410, 415, 417-19, 421, 427-8, 433-5; Ramm, *Parisi*, p. 132; J. Evans (1989), Crambeck: The Development of a Major Northern Pottery Industry, in P. R. Wilson (Ed.), *The Crambeck Roman Pottery Industry*. Leeds: Yorkshire Archaeological Society, Roman Antiquities Section, pp. 43-90, at pp. 74-80; B. Precious, The Roman Pottery from West Lilling, in Anon., *West Lilling*, pp. 13-22. See also note 77 below.

[22] Raymond Hayes reported, 'John Moore told me that he found late Roman sherds above Saxon sherds in the huts at Wykeham': R. H. Hayes (1991). Review: Price and Wilson (Eds), *Recent Research* (1991). *Ryedale Historian* 15, pp. 30-2, at p. 31.

[23] 'There is not a scrap of evidence to suggest a prior occupation by the Romano-British': Moore, Anglo-Saxon Settlement, p. 435 (but see Ramm, *Parisi*, pp. 135-6).

[24] As Ramm (*Parisi*, p. 135) evidently concluded: 'The well-known site at Wykeham ... overlapped with a settlement producing late fourth-century pottery.'

[25] The three eighteenth-century enclosure maps for Wykeham and Ruston (North Yorkshire County Record Office [hereafter NYCRO], ZDS V 3/1) and the tithe award records for Wykeham of 1849 (Borthwick Institute for Archives, TA 126 S) cover only small, mainly northern, parts of the parish, omitting the whole of the area concerned.

[26] Gelling (1978), *Signposts*, p. 152. For *ceaster, cæster*, 'old fortification', see Smith, *Place-Name Elements*, part 1, pp. 85-7

[27] F. C. Rimington (1968), The Place-Name 'Chester' in the Parish of Wykeham, *Transactions of the Scarborough Archaeological & Historical Society* 11, p. 62.

[28] Some of the latter's course is mirrored in a footpath and field boundaries (the rest having been destroyed by quarrying), between the A170 and the western end of Hutton Buscel's main street, which perpetuates the alleged course of the Roman road from Sherburn towards Scarborough, i.e. Margary's road 817: I. D. Margary (1973), *Roman Roads in Britain*. London: John Baker (3rd ed.), pp. 424-5.

[29] This is not to say that Jane Chester could not have owned land on both sides of the road, but only that Rimington conspicuously failed to show that she (or other members of her family) owned any to the south of it in the area of the Chester names.

[30] Clark, *Gazetteer*, p. 141.

[31] D. Knight (2011), *Cropmarks at Brompton-by-Sawdon, North Yorkshire: Air Photographic Assessment.* York: English Heritage Research Department Report Series 087-2011.

[32] Powlesland, *25 Years*, pp. 26-9; C. Stoertz (1997), *Ancient Landscapes of the Yorkshire Wolds: Aerial Photographic Transcription Analysis.* Swindon: Royal Commission on Historic Monuments (England), *passim*; Ottaway, *Roman Yorkshire*, pp. 68-9.

[33] Knight, *Cropmarks at Brompton*, p. 5.

[34] Powlesland, *25 Years*, p. 28. This is well exemplified in Ottaway's two surveys of villas: *Roman Yorkshire*, pp. 183-93, 256-71.

[35] A Survey of the Township of Pockley, the Property of Chas. Duncombe Esq., by Tuke & Ayer, York, 1823. NYCRO, ZEW IV/1/13.

[36] Smith, *Place-Names*, p. 67; P. Rahtz (1999). Review: D. S. Neal (1996), *Excavations on the Roman Villa at Beadlam, North Yorkshire*. Yorkshire Archaeological Report No. 2. Leeds: Yorkshire Archaeological Society, Roman Antiquities Section, *Ryedale Historian* 19, pp. 24-6, at p. 26.

[37] Smith, *Place-Names*, pp. 65, 67, 68, 69.

[38] Smith, *Place-Names*, pp. 69, 92, 96, 130.

[39] Smith, *Place-Names*, pp. 42, 85, 88, 116, 132; M. Gelling and A. Cole (2000), *The Landscape of Place-Names*. Stamford: Shaun Tyas, p. 111.

[40] Smith, *Place-Names*, p. 65.

[41] Wykeham Dale's name is ignored by Smith, *Place-Names*, as are those of some other small valleys in the vicinity, e.g. Howl Dale, Douthwaite Dale and Beadale.

[42] Neal, *Excavations*, pp. vii-viii.

[43] Smith, *Place-Names*, p. 67; Smith, *Place-Name Elements*, part 1, pp. 43-4. For the earthworks: Neal, *Excavations*, pp. viii, 1.

[44] Neal, *Excavations*, pp. 34, 44-5, 85; Rahtz, review of Neal, *Excavations*, p. 25.

[45] Ottaway, *Roman Yorkshire*, p. 315. A more cautious note is struck in L. Watts (2015), A Private Roman Church? The Villa at Beadlam, North Yorkshire. *Ryedale Historian* 27, pp. 51-3. After discussion of the building's possible religious function, the hypothesis is rejected in Neal, *Excavations*, pp. 35-6, 43, 87. Also see E. W. Black (1998). Review of Neal, *Excavations*. *Britannia* 29, pp. 489-90, at p. 489.

[46] Neal, *Excavations*, pp. 18, 45, 64. In addition, Neal said of Building 5 in the east range: '[I]t is tempting to see ... this structure ... [as] a focus of community life within the overall complex': *Excavations*, p. 43.

[47] Rahtz, review of Neal, *Excavations*, p. 25.

[48] In 1086 the four recorded holdings at Wykeham had a total assessment of 4¼ carucates, and the five at Malton had one of 13¾ carucates. Even though the carucate (and, elsewhere in England, the hide) was a fiscal measurement, not a spatial one, the relative assessments of Wykeham and Malton can be reckoned to be roughly comparable to relative acreage within a compact territory of fairly uniform soil quality such as the one which Malton's early medieval minster served.

[49] See above, note 10.

[50] Gelling, English Place-Names, p. 93; Smith, *Place-Name Elements*, part 2, pp. 257-63.

[51] DB, fo. 300v; *DB Yorkshire,* 1N63, 1N64.

[52] DB, fos 303, 325v; *DB Yorkshire*, 2N1, 16N1. Ralph Paynel's land was sokeland. Nunnington lies about 10 miles west-northwest of the Wykeham/Malton area.

[53] Both are entered under a rubric for *Manshowe* (subsequently Ryedale) wapentake, and therefore can not have been at Wykeham near Scarborough, which was in *Dic* (subsequently Pickering Lythe) wapentake.

[54] The process by which such fission occurred (as it appears to have done all over England from no later than the eighth century onwards), and the causes of it, are complex but nonetheless widely accepted by historians. For an unusually uncomplicated example see S. Bassett (1997), Continuity and Fission in the Anglo-Saxon Landscape: The Origins of the Rodings (Essex), *Landscape History* 19, pp. 25-42.

[55] DB, fo. 380v; *DB Yorkshire*, SN, Ma3-5.

[56] H. B. Clarke (1985), The Domesday Satellites, in P. Sawyer (Ed.), *Domesday Book. A Reassessment*. London: Edward Arnold, pp. 50-70, at pp. 67, 69-70; D. Roffe (2000), *Domesday: The Inquest and the Book*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 84-6; S. Harvey (2014), *Domesday: Book of Judgement*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 68-9, 214.

[57] J. McN. Dodgson (1987), Domesday Book: Place-Names and Personal Names, in J. C. Holt (Ed.), *Domesday Studies*. Woodbridge: Boydell, pp. 121-37, at pp. 122-4 and *passim*.

[58] I am grateful to the late Duncan Probert for having drawn my attention to this case-ending of *wīc*.

[59] I consulted two place-name scholars about this apparent toponymic anomaly – John Baker and the late Duncan Probert, to whom I am most grateful for their comments – but neither of them was able to explain it to his own satisfaction. John Baker doubted that an original name in *wīc* could be safely deduced from the Domesday forms. He noted, in respect of the successive entries for the two royal manors at, respectively, *Wicum* and *Wiche* (DB, fo. 300v), that 'it seems strange that the scribe felt it necessary to describe one settlement as "the other *Wiche*", since the names would have sounded and looked different. So to argue that the name was originally singular *wīc*, mistaken for a plural and thus given a dative plural ending, is problematic, I think. The run of [post-Domesday] spellings seems fairly unambiguously to reflect OE *wīcum* and it looks more likely that the *Wiche* and *Wich* forms are misleading.' Duncan Probert wrote to me, shortly before his sudden death, that 'My initial impression is that your interpretation is close to being the right one. However, I want to go through things carefully and so will get back to you on this anon.'

[60] British Library, Cotton Claudius D xi, fos 47, 48, 48v, 50v, 52, 53v, 283v.

[61] Until recently, it was widely identified as *Derventio* (e.g. A. L. F. Rivet and C. Smith (1979), *The Place-Names of Roman Britain*. London: B. T. Batsford, pp. 333-4; Ramm, *Parisi*, pp. 23, 58), but this is now thought to be very probably wrong. For an argument in favour of *Delgovicia*: J. Creighton (1988), The Place Names of East Yorkshire in the Roman Period, in Price and Wilson (Eds), *Recent Research*, pp. 387-406. Also see P. R. Wilson (forthcoming), *Derventio*, *Delgovicia* and *Praetorio*: Some Roman-period Place-Names of Eastern Yorkshire Revisited. *Britannia* 48.

[62] Coates, New Light, p. 86.

[63] Coates, New Light, p. 90.

[64] R. Hodges (1982), *Dark Age Economics. The Origins of Towns and Trade AD 600-1000*. London: Duckworth (2nd ed.), pp. 39-45, 74-7, 88-93; Coates, New Light, p. 88. For an explanation of the asterisk placed before *wīk*, see note 2 above.

[65] Laws of Hlothere and Eadric, §16: F. Leibermann (Ed.) (1903), *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, I. Halle: Max Niemeyer, p. 11; A. G. Vince (1984), The Aldwych: Saxon London Discovered. *Current Archaeology* 93, pp. 310-12; M. Biddle (1984), London on the Strand. *Popular Archaeology* 6.1, pp. 25-7; R. Cowie and L. Blackmore (2012), *Lundenwic: Excavations in Middle Saxon London, 1987–2000*. MOLA Monograph Series 63. London: Museum of London Archaeology.

[66] Hodges, *Dark Age Economics*, pp. 66-74; D. Hill and R. Cowie (2001), *Wics: The Early Medieval Trading Centres of Northern Europe*. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press.

[67] L. P. Wenham (1974), *Derventio (Malton)*. Huddersfield: Cameo Books, pp. 32-3; Ramm, *Parisi*, pp. 129-31; Ottaway, *Roman Yorkshire*, pp. 304-5.

[68] https://www.cngcoins.com/Coin.aspx?CoinID=247136. I am grateful to Tony Abramson for bringing this coin to my attention.

[69] Smith, *Place-Name Elements*, I, pp. 85-7.

[70] Smith, *Place-Names*, p. 43; Watts and Insley, *Cambridge Dictionary*, p. 395: 'the "moot" village'.

[71] In this respect it is notable that the crown held 14 of the 18 carucates of land in Malton and Wykeham which are recorded in Domesday Book, viz. DB, fo. 300v; *DB Yorkshire*, 1N63-66.

[72] P. C. Buckland (1988), The Stones of York: Building Materials in Roman Yorkshire, in Price and Wilson (Eds), *Recent Research*, pp. 237-87, at p. 264; Margary (1973), *Roman Roads*, pp. 419-21, 423-6.

[73] M. Blackburn (2003), 'Productive' Sites and the Pattern of Coin Loss in England, 600-1180, in T. Pestell and K. Ulmschneider (Eds), *Markets in Early Medieval Europe*. Macclesfield: Windgather Press, pp. 20-36; M. Bonser (1997), Fifteen Years of Coin Finds from Productive Sites. *Yorkshire Numismatist* 3, pp. 39-45.

[74] I am grateful to Tony Abramson for sharing with me unpublished information about these sites.

[75] Bonser, *Fifteen Years*, pp. 42-3. The coins known as sceattas were struck both in England and on the continent (in Frisia and Jutland), whereas stycas, which replaced them in the northeast from the 790s, were struck only in the kingdom of Northumbria. There is no available information about the dirham's date and place of manufacture: Corpus of Early Medieval Coin Finds (http://www-cm.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/emc/), no. 1999.0057.

[76] As recently presented in, for example, N. J. Higham and M. J. Ryan (2013), *The Anglo-Saxon World.* New Haven and London: Yale University Press, pp. 41-56; and, for North Yorkshire, P. Wilson (2003), The Third, Fourth and Fifth Centuries, in R. A. Butlin (Ed.), *Historical Atlas of North Yorkshire*. Otley: Westbury Publishing, pp. 52-5; D. Powlesland (2003), The Early-Middle Anglo-Saxon Period (AD 400-AD 850), in *ibid.*, pp. 62-67; and P. Wilson (2003), Contact, Co-existence and Conflict: Additional Aspects of the Early-Middle Anglo-Saxon Period, in *ibid.*, 67.

[77] But see K. J. Fitzpatrick-Matthews and R. Fleming (2016), The Perils of Periodization: Roman Ceramics in Britain after 400 CE, *Fragments* 5, pp. 1-33 (*https://quod.lib.umich.edu/f/frag/97*), at pp. 8-9 (for 'possibly post-Roman Crambeck-ware mortaria' found at Carlisle), 17-18, 21, and 23, for evidence in support of their suggestion that 'the pottery developing over the course of the fifth and sixth centuries', in northeast Yorkshire among other places, 'was the handiwork of both indigenous and immigrant potters, adopting and adapting one another's ways of making and doing.' (*ibid.*, p. 2).

[78] E. Ekwall (1964), *Old English* Wīc *in Place-Names*. Nomina Germanica, 13. Uppsala: A.-B. Lundequistska Bokhandeln, p. 45.

Coppice Woodland in the River Seven Valley: The History of its Survival
by Jonathan Allison

Introduction

Coppice woodland in the River Seven valley which cuts through the Tabular Hills is a rare survivor from the early Middle Ages and before. The record of its survival is traceable, although sometimes shadowy. The purpose of this article is to indicate how this continuity of ancient woodlands came about. Although the focus is on the woodlands around Appleton Mill, there are others in the area which share many of the same characteristics: deciduous woodland and natural regeneration which have been continuous for four centuries or longer. These include Hob Bank Wood adjoining Cropton Banks Wood; and the western part of Howlgate Head Wood (see Map1). The article uses the example of the woods around Appleton Mill to illustrate the value of the coppice system of woodland management over such a long period of time, and to note its steep decline since 1914. Consideration is also given to the ecological health of our ancient coppice woodlands, their permanence and their beauty as landscape and biological resources.

The serendipity of survival of continuous deciduous woodland over such a long period of time has been due principally to the geomorphology of the area, the gradients of the steep hillsides enclosing the valley and the River Seven. Ice-age meltwater cut through the Corallian limestone of the Tabular Hills on its way to the Vale of Pickering. As a consequence of the gradient, the sites of many of the woodlands have been unsuitable for agriculture or grazing. The history of land ownership has also been a determining factor in the general absence of plantation forestry and coniferisation, though there have been desultory attempts on a small scale to establish the latter. Natural regeneration has consistently outperformed efforts made from time to time by human agents to introduce conifers.

Land Ownership Influences

Quite apart from the geomorphology of the area, how have these ancient woodlands survived so well from the twelfth century to the present day? After all, land with similar geomorphology has not come through the centuries unscathed.

The Medieval Period

After the Conquest, the Manor of Spaunton fell into the hands of St Mary's Abbey. It seems likely that there was a Saxon manor in some form prior to 1066. Margaret Allison[1] suggests that the monk Stephen was a likely conduit both for the transition in land ownership and its survival amid the upheavals of land redistribution following the Conquest and the Harrying of the North in 1069. Stephen had been Prior of Whitby Abbey, but left and founded a monastery at Lastingham in this period. He was then promoted in the 1080s and moved with a retinue of monks from Lastingham to York and was Abbot of St Mary's Abbey from 1088 to 1112. St Mary's was re-founded in 1088 when the King attended and granted further lands to the Abbey. Clearly, Stephen was a trusted figure in the new Norman ruling class and was well acquainted with Spaunton Manor from his time at Lastingham.

Map 1: The woods around Appleton Mill in the valley of the River Seven. © Crown copyright 2017 OS 100059148.

One can surmise that, after the Manor of Spaunton became part of the estate of St Mary's Abbey, there was either a steward living in Appleton or visiting on a regular basis to protect the Abbey's interests. The woodlands, significantly more critical to the local economy than

today, would have been managed as a valuable resource. In the medieval period coppice woodland was not infrequently more valuable than arable land. Rackham[2] points out that: 'the return from underwood alone leaving out timber, hazel nuts and other produce' averaged more in 1270 per acre than arable. Wood was the main source of fuel for domestic purposes, cooking and heating, before coal, oil and electricity, as well as of bowls and utensils for the kitchen. It was the source of the raw materials for tools, carts, fencing, wattle and daub for walls, roofing poles and stanchions, and for farm and building works. Additionally, wood converted to charcoal was used for industrial purposes for iron and glass working.

Consequently, right up to 1539 the Appleton woodlands west of the River Seven, as part of the Spaunton estate, were managed so as to provide an income and services to St Mary's Abbey; continuity of management was assured for some 450 years. East of the river the woods were within the Royal Forest of Pickering, later the Duchy of Lancaster, but were alienated thereafter at an unknown date. What was called the Forest of Spaunton was not a forest in the modern sense, but was an area designated for hunting and deer, affecting the area between the Rivers Seven and Dove. In 1155 the Abbot became custodian of Spaunton Forest, an appointment made by the King, but it was not until 1328 that the King granted the Abbey the right of venison and later the right to enclose land for cultivation.

The Dissolution and Asset Stripping of Spaunton Manor

At the Dissolution of the Monasteries in the late 1530s, the estates of St Mary's Abbey initially all passed back to the King. After 1539 the estate was gradually broken up, asset stripped and sold off in parcels. The local Crown agents seem to have done very well out of the land transactions and contracts, particularly felling contracts, bearing in mind the high value of wood products.[3] Most wood contracts were verbal, as was the case until quite recently, which assisted the King's agents in swindling him, and made it more difficult to prosecute them.

However, in 1552 the Crown commissioned a survey, probably because there was dissatisfaction at the value of the returns being passed on from its local agents. The survey concentrates on the timber trees because these represented an asset that could most easily be converted into cash. It also refers to coppicing, and the woodland names of 'Hagg' and 'Tenterhill' testify to their medieval management and use. The Hagg woods are characterised as oak and hazel shrubs, managed for fuel on long coppice cycles; the length of the cycles is no surprise given the steep hillsides and thin soils. An example of this today would be Howlgate Head wood (see Map 1 and Figure 1) which is residual oak coppice uncut for some 70 years and good for fuel only, while the hazel has been mostly shaded out; this is an extreme example since in practice this should have been coppiced several decades ago. The survey makes it clear what the medieval management of the woodlands was like, and how this relatively orderly management by the Abbey estate was disrupted by the asset stripping of the Crown's agents. Neglect and the absence of management after 1539 are apparent from the 1552 survey. Fences were not kept up and cattle got into some of the woods. Although the woodlands were split up and sold off seemingly to many new owners, no records exist of the transactions; and management is likely to have been more haphazard and uncoordinated than when part of the Abbey estate. The value of the underwood throughout the coppice cycles would, however, be a constant.

Figure 1: Photo of Howlgate Head Wood showing residual oak coppice uncut for 70 years.

Enclosure and the Woodlands

Enclosure occurred at Appleton in three phases: 1670s, *c.* 1710 and *c.* 1767. It appears that people who were allocated field strips also acquired a wood parcel at the bottom end of their land (see Map 2). The strips could be extended as cross sections through the valley contours from the agricultural land, through the woodland and down to the river bank. It is apparent that this also occurred on the east side of the river through the Cropton Bank woods, as evidenced by ownerships in about 1955 (see Map 3). A contemporary residue of this can be seen in the holding of Mr Barry Waines through Ridings Bank Wood (marked BW on Map 1). It seems probable that the relationship of agricultural fields to woodland remained much the same from the years after the Dissolution to Enclosure, although it is not known quite what the legal arrangements would have been for coppice contracts. After Enclosure, there appears to have been a flurry of legal activity involving changed ownership which shows up in the Tithe Map for 1849–50.[4] However, the pattern of fractured ownerships continued as can be seen in Map 3, showing the parcelling of the woodlands in about 1955.
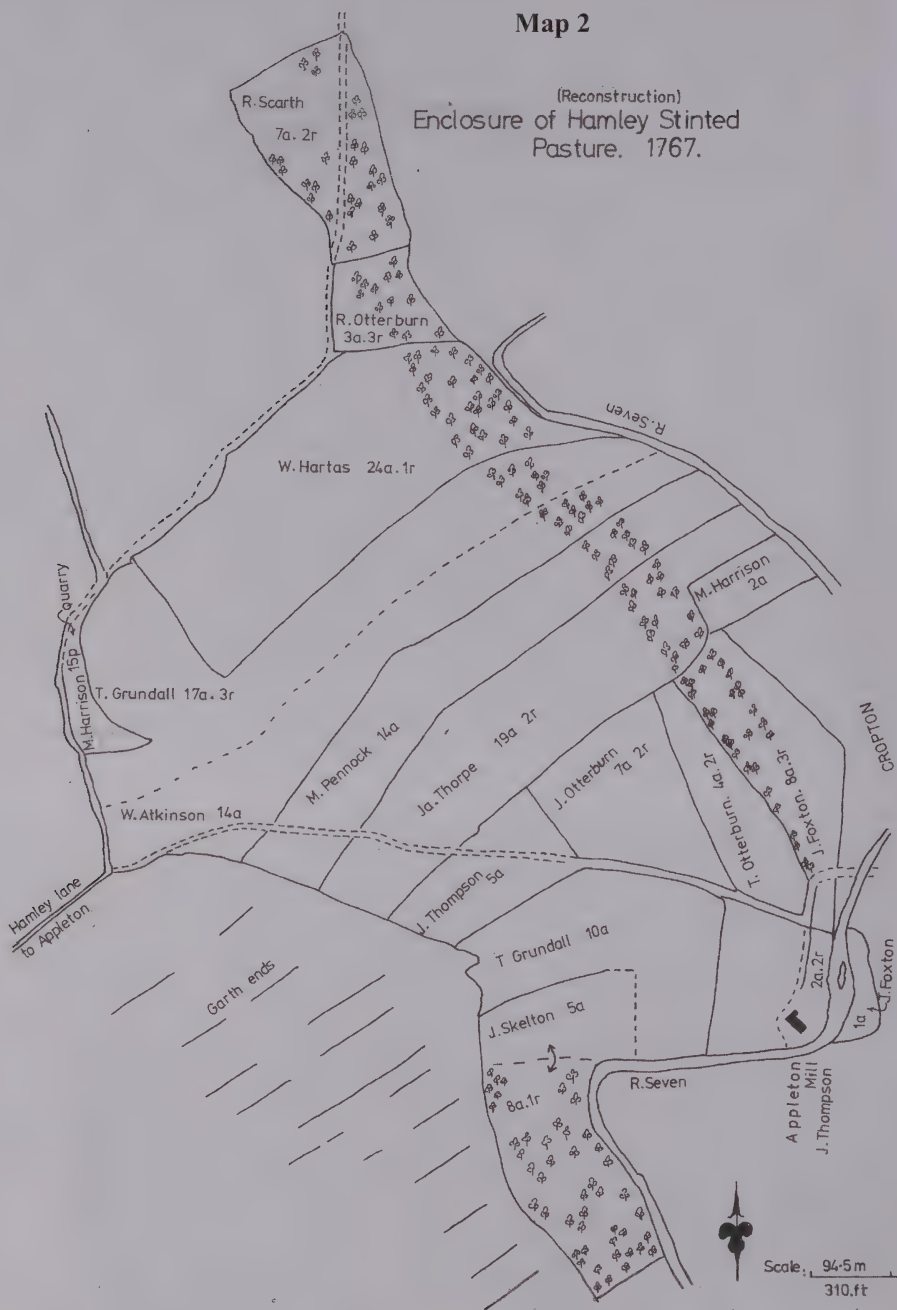
Map 2: Map showing field strips with woods at the river end after the 1767 Enclosure of Hamley Stinted Pasture. (Reproduced by permission of the author from *History of Appleton-Le-Moors.*)
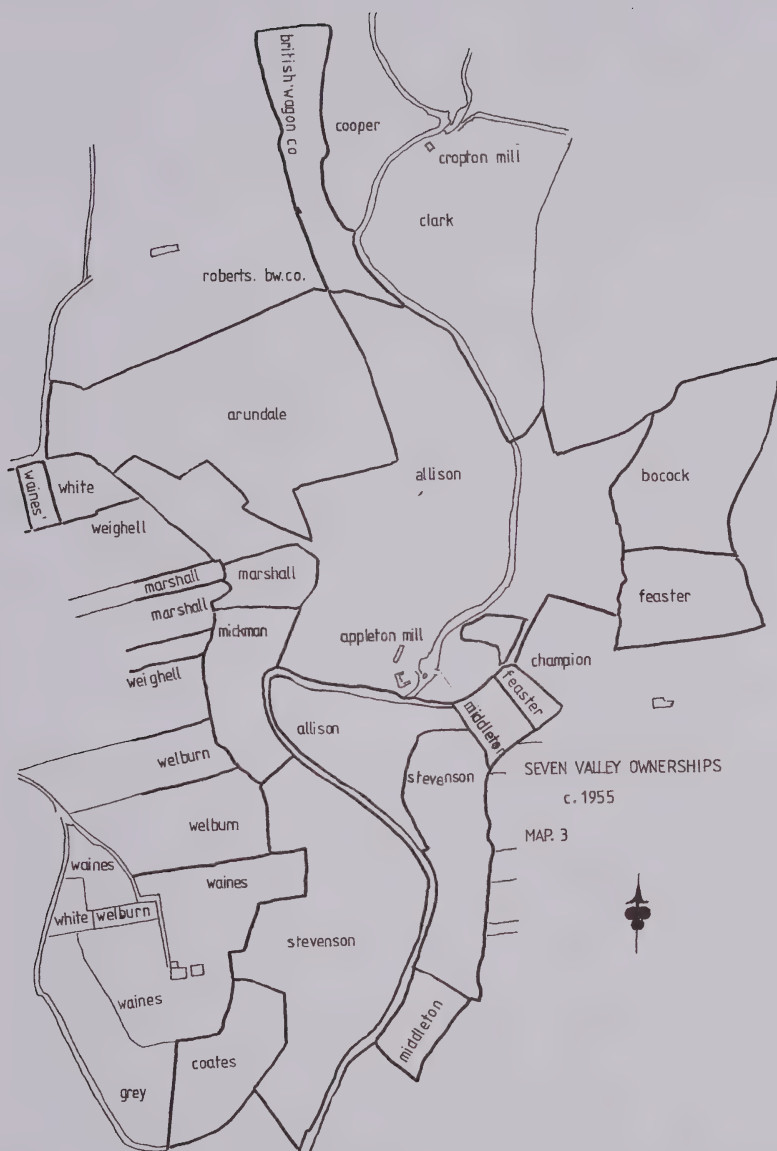
Map 3: Drawing showing the continuation of fractured ownership patterns in *c.* 1955.

Post-Enclosure

As evidenced by the 1849 Tithe Map, one sees in the 80 years since Enclosure some consolidation of land ownership by the gentry, such as Petch the lawyer, and the Shepherds of Douthwaite Dale, who had access to finance, and access to farmers or executors where money might be needed for family events, marriage or death. By 1849 the Appleton Grundal family, who have been shown to have played such a significant role in the area from the Dissolution to the 1767 Enclosure, no longer appear in records. One sees the gentry families swapping land parcels between them: in 1848 Appleton Mill was sold to Petch; in 1856 to Shepherd; in 1881 to Petch; in 1888 to Douthwaite, and so on. The land parcels were seen, perhaps, as investments, what we might now call financial instruments, and the land was rented out for the income, but little managed by the gentry owners. While renting out the agricultural land the gentry and absentee owners may well have not rented out the woodlands but contracted the coppicing as required.

The period from 1914 to 1950 saw a great increase in land ownership transactions and the Seven Valley was no exception. A third of England went up for sale in the period and Appleton Mill was sold four times. In these years of financial and social stress money was tight. At the same time, coppiced woodlands had become increasingly marginal to the rural economy. Hard-pressed owners were felling the timber, then selling the land. The neglect of woodlands nationally led to the creation of the Forestry Commission in 1918 and increasing state ownership and intervention. The Allison family bought woodland parcels piecemeal from the 1930s onwards, beginning with Nutholme; Mill Wood in 1955; and then as opportunities arose up to the present woodland holding of 46ha of coordinated management. This was to prove critical to the survival of these natural woodlands in the face of the forestry orthodoxy of the 1960s and 70s.

The Management of Woodland

The survey of 1552 gives an invaluable insight into woodland management, which for the most part must be inferred, under St Mary's Abbey in the medieval period before the estate was privatised and split off into multiple ownerships. The critical factors in the Seven Valley are that the woods did not become part of a gentry or aristocratic estate in the nineteenth century and that land parcels and tenancies were relatively small scale. Natural regeneration and coppice management continued due to the value and importance of woodland products, especially the underwood, and due to the land form made up of the steep gradients down to the river. Rackham established that in the mid-sixteenth century the price of underwood rose in real terms by about 75 per cent and the price of timber trees rose by 50 per cent in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[5] Timber trees in this valley would be slow growing and difficult to extract and transport, and hence more costly to deliver to more than a very local market.

We know that the value of coppice woodland continued in the eighteenth century because of the land management accounts for this area by William Marshall in 1788[6] and John Tuke in 1800.[7] Tuke, a land surveyor, describes coppice management thus:

> Spring wood from its age, is of course small, but serves for many purposes of husbandry and country use. Some in going over their woods about every twenty years, raise a constant succession of timber, leaving each time a certain number of

the most likely young trees on each acre, and a certain number of every preceding thinning.

This concise statement of coppice management is a cloak covering many variations in practice, one of which he enlarges upon:

> By this management, a fresh and numerous succession soon arise from the old stool, and from the seed scattered on the ground, which, after being occasionally thinned during the period of their growth, and having been well defended from cattle, in about thirty years are ready for the axe. Oak, ash, and broad leafed elm, are equally capable of this reproduction of timber from the old root.

On the value of woodlands he has this to say:

> Woods under the best management practised in this country, are held to pay very well on any soil; in many instances, where the land, though capable of cultivation, would not be worth as much if cultivated; and that rent will be produced on many of the steep and rocky hillsides in the Moorlands, which, if not covered with timber, would be of no value at all ... In general the woodlands of this district are much neglected.

There is ambiguity here: on the one hand, the high value of wood product and, on the other, neglect. One may consider several factors to account for this. One is that with the industrial revolution coal had developed as a source of energy. Furthermore, in the eighteenth century the emphasis was on timber for the shipyards at Whitby and Scarborough. The sense of neglect expressed by John Tuke, William Marshall and M. G. Steele (quoted by Tuke) is because the mature timber trees were being felled in woods and hedgerows, but replanting was not taking place. The Napoleonic wars led to woodland asset-stripping and speculative greed. The eloquence of M.G. Steele, quoted by Tuke, makes the point:

> Most people, I think. Concur in this point, that for the last half century, the wood in this Kingdom has been terribly on the decline. That gloomy prospect has now become tremendous, and sufficiently visible to awaken the fears of every thinking person. Besides the avidity with which wood has been, and continues to be, cut down by he generality of its owners, ninety-nine farmers in one hundred are its most mortal enemies – they study its destruction with more than gothic ignorance and barbarity. Let us cast our thoughts towards the future support and welfare of our navy ...

Tuke reports that 'Large full grown timber is now become very scarce.'

William Marshall from Pickering in *The Rural Economy of Yorkshire* writes about the practice of coppicing with a different eye to Tuke. He writes of 're-springing' the woods 'where coppice-wood is of less value than it is in most others [other countries] . . . – fuel, hedging materials, and a few firkin-hoops being the only saleable articles.' This downbeat view is difficult to reconcile with Tuke's, but may be due to Marshall's concentration on woodland where estate management is practised, rather than small woodlands and fractured ownership.

On the practice of 'respringing', Marshall gives his view on method. After the felling of a coup (a section of a wood for cutting) 'before the young shoots make their appearance, the

ground is or ought to be finally cleared from the fallen timber and topwood, and the fences made up. If the timber or topwood be suffered to remain among the stools until after they have made their first shoot, much mischief will be done in getting them off afterward.' He adds that 'defending the timberlings from foreign enemies was the only care bestowed upon young springs, and this perhaps not very rigidly attended to. Now, the fences are pretty strictly kept up, and the plants themselves from time to time "weeded" – that is thinned; the underwood and cross growing timberlings being in this operation removed, to give air and room to those which are more promising.'

This passage indicates that there was better management in operation, which itself suggests that the woodlands yielded a worthwhile return on the labour. And the passage also indicates a labour-intensive process, something to which I shall return.

Marshall expands on his meaning of 'weeding'; his weeding cannot be conducted with a hoe or a small fork. 'The business of weeding is generally deferred until the weeding plants have acquired a degree of usefulness; by which means the operation becomes doubly profitable. The first thinning, I believe, is generally given as soon as the undergrowth is large enough for stakes, and the second when it is long enough for rails: the former being given at about ten, the latter at about 20 years old. At every 10 years afterward, for half a century at least, posts as well as rails may generally be taken with double advantage. Timberlings will measure from twenty to thirty inches in circumference, in about forty years.'

Discussion about what coppice management is, was, or ought to be, could also benefit from Marshall's view expressed in 1788 since it differs from the current view often expressed that, following felling, a proportion of wavers, the best of the younger but thriving trees, 12 to the acre often quoted, should be retained. Marshall will have none of this. For him, the entire ground ought to be cleared of every tree great and small, because 'wavers' retained will not thrive and by 'drip and shade will do harm to the new saplings rising around them'.

Giving expression to some of the differences in coppice management in the late eighteenth century is important because 'spring' or coppice woods were predominant in these Tabular valleys at the time, and continued to be, although on a declining trajectory, through to the First World War. These practices are held to be important to the evolution of the present relic biodiversity of woodlands which are now designated as Sites of Special Scientific Interest (SSSI). They also assist in the consideration of how future management might best adapt to the challenges we face.

Eighteenth-Century Marketing: Felling and Selling
Wood was sold to professional wood buyers *gros*, as standing, either by auction or private contract; the buyers cut up the trees in the woods, according to the purposes for which the wood type and shape seemed most useful and profitable. It was more of a craft process, not an industrial or machine process. A tree with a particular bend might have double the value for ship timber, with another part of the tree selected for house building; other parts for manufactures, for farmers, mill or wheel wrights, for domestic and kitchen use, or in case of bark for tanning. The residue would go for fuel, for kitchen ovens and baking. The woodsmen buyers then organised transport which, if heavy timbers had to go to Whitby or Scarborough, reduced the value of the timber. It was more profitable to sell locally. In the case of sale to shipyards, the wood was often not only cut and selected for the yard but also

shaped; everything was done to fashion the wood in advance of transport in order to reduce costs, and reduce waste when it got to the yards. Transport costs could absorb half the wood value.

The Years from 1914 to 1955

There are no records of woodland transactions for the Appleton Mill woodlands until the twentieth century when verbal accounts became available. For instance, the Milestone family joinery business owned Gill Wood for a period; every winter they would fell for the wood they needed for future use, and dress wood on site.[8] Howlgate Head Wood was felled about 1910 and the wood bark stripped for the tannery at Lowna.[9] The woodsmen stayed in a shed at the bottom of the bank during the contract. Willie Clemmit, who subsequently survived the First World War and later mapped the footpaths and bridleways, had his first job collecting the bark, which was then stacked by George Welburn, also from Appleton. Sections of this wood were felled again in 1944 and 1945 for firewood, the contract being with Mr Coates, a fuel merchant from Leeds, who may have transported the wood to Leeds from Sinnington by rail (note the name on Map 3).

The steep bank above the river overlooking the Mill was felled c.1914, although all we know of this comes from a photograph (see below). Gill Wood was felled in the 1940s and left to natural regeneration; the oak coppice stools can still be seen in this daffodil and bluebell wood. Felling also took place in parts of Ridings Bank Wood, Nutholme Bank and Tenterhill. Some conifers were planted but few survived as regeneration quickly took over; a few small conifer plantations were introduced. Although woods were being felled, primarily for firewood, coppice management had ceased, and the woods regenerated naturally with the assistance of neglect, the benefits of which should not be underestimated. Rackham writes: 'Sites left unmanaged for a century or more . . . are of the greatest ecological interest and should be protected.'[10]

Figure 2: Photo of Appleton Mill in 1915 showing the felling on the steep bank behind it.

Woodland Management: From 1955 to 2017

The economic background for natural woodlands has been grim to slightly less grim, depending on topography and the changing attitudes of the Forestry Commission, followed more recently by the rising market for wood fuel. Steep hillsides where trees and coppice grow slowly and seldom straight, accompanied by high extraction costs and, until the wood fuel boom, negligible markets, all encouraged neglect. In the mid-1970s, a forestry consultant visiting Appleton Mill advised a programme of clear felling, bulldozing everything to a lower level and burning it, followed by conifer planting, and an ultimate cash crop, the process lubricated by grants. It was the orthodoxy of the period. Rackham sees 1975 as the high-water mark of the malign influence of the Forestry Commission in the destruction of natural deciduous woodlands in favour of coniferisation, an influence that, by 1990, was in full retreat.[11] The Seven Valley largely escaped the destructive orthodoxy, other than Scarth Wood (marked as SW on Map 1) which was felled and replanted with larch in the early 1960s, but saved by initial neglect, and in the late 1990s by a major thinning out.

I took on responsibility for Appleton Mill woodlands in 1971 with an approach that emphasized that there was to be no clear felling and minimal interventions. The interpretation of what constitutes minimal interventions has evolved to the present belief in the need for a rolling programme of interference in order to introduce light and structural diversity. This has evolved accompanied by an understanding of the importance of a restored coppice regime to the ecosystem of the valley. It had become increasingly clear to me that the diversity of the woodlands resulting from its past history of ownership, and a combination of coppicing and neglect, had allowed the exceptionally rich ecological matrix to survive. Woodland management for nature conservation, and not commercial forestry or pheasant rearing, was the direction in which to go, trying to replicate in a contemporary form older woodland management practices. A start was made with the creation of small glades, openings in the canopy, now extended to up to 0.5h in order to be effective.

Coppice management in its varied forms became the guiding principle. In its purist form this involved felling to leave a minimum of 12 trees to the acre, using every part of the cut material including the brash, and leaving the ground cleared. The uses for the hazel coppice included poles for wattle fencing and thatching at the Ryedale Folk Museum in Hutton-le-Hole, faggots for supporting riverbank protection in the East Riding, post and fencing materials, wood for charcoal burning, and any residue for logs. At the other end of the scale, different degrees of thinning have been undertaken where lacking a market for the brash, the brash being used to protect cut stools from deer in the first years and to line the brash out to create cover and habitat for wildlife; then in rotting down to provide opportunities for insects, birds and fungus. The practical experience of operating different levels of coppice interference led to the conclusion that these different approaches was what had been happening in the distant past, the degree of thinning and the extent of coppicing dependent on the state of the wood and market circumstances. One can be confident that diversity in the coppice regime had been practised by the St Mary's Abbey estate managers through to the practices recounted by Tuke and Marshall in the eighteenth century, and on to the present day. The constants have been reliance on regeneration, fencing against sheep and cattle, absence of plantation forestry and conifers, and a felling cycle dependent on woodland circumstances and ownership.

Figure 3: Coppice products awaiting transport.

Periods of woodland neglect or short-term larch plantation appear not to be a critical impediment to the restoration of biodiversity. Scarth Wood (labelled as SW on Map 1), felled and replanted with larch in about 1960, fortunately then neglected, was bought by the Allison family *c*. 1996 when a programme was initiated to thin out the conifers by a woodland conservation team, year by year moving north. This incremental process revealed the success of regeneration by the second year with wild flowers returning abundantly even in parts where the larch had created a dead woodland floor.[12]

It is noteworthy that by the late 1980s the Commission had become much more interested in the conservation of broadleaf woodlands, including broadleaf replanting on former conifer plantations. Grants for conifer planting began to give way to grants for conifer replacements.

Our experience during the coppice cycle is also an instructive indicator of best practice in historical times. Deer is a problem in contemporary coppice since by eating shoots they retard the new growth; they may have been more effectively culled in the past. Also, what a difference it makes if the woodsman goes back into the coppiced wood after six or seven years to cut out hazel side shoots and thin out some regrowth to increase light through the developing canopy; it also provides fuel logs and poles. This replicates eighteenth-century practice as reported by Tuke and Marshall.

Conservation of the Woodlands

The woodlands associated with Appleton Mill in 2017 comprise 46ha of which 71 per cent have been designated as a Site of Special Scientific Interest since 1985; 95 per cent is natural woodland. The river banks, all wooded, are not included in these figures. The SSSI designation recognises the woodland as ecologically irreplaceable, supporting 25 per cent of the species identified in the national 'Biodiversity Action Plan' list of protected species. Much of it is 'primary woodland', that is, having existed continuously since before the original forests became fragmented. As such, it is a biological bank and research asset. The survival of this asset has always been dependent upon its use.

The tree and shrub layer is what you see, but the trees act 'as a support system for fungi and other microorganisms, visible and microscopic above and below ground.'[13] 'Each tree has its own unique array of microorganisms that changes throughout its life.' When you have many trees in succession on the same ground and soil conditions over centuries, there builds up an extremely complex and unique biological matrix. The fungi, bacteria, nematodes, and insects in the ecosystem help to return minerals and nutrients that have been locked up in wood, as well as dead plant materials, back into the soil for chemical recycling. Phosphorus in particular needs mycorrhizal symbiotic associations of fungi and the roots of plants to be recycled successfully.[14] So today we inherit very diverse woodlands: no monoculture of conifers, or sycamores, negligible plantation, no mechanical spacing or ranks of trees. A natural disorder prevails. What we have is a complex mix of species, of ages, of shapes and sizes, and its attendant equally complex mix of ground flora.

Contemporary coppice management is in no sense an economic proposition, rather one of conservation as one might regard the work in restoring and maintaining a seventeenth-century painting. It is labour intensive, requiring practical skills which are best learned on the job.[15] A long-term view is needed and continuity of management well beyond the five-year plan. Marketing of the products is complex, and requires its own skill set as well as perseverance. The Allison family has entered into a long-term partnership with the Yorkshire Wildlife Trust in order to try to obtain that continuity which distinguished the management of St Mary's Abbey, and because the Wildlife Trust shares an enthusiasm for the conservation of Yorkshire's ecologically rich landscapes.

Acknowledgement

Notes

[1] M. Allison (2003), *History of Appleton-Le-Moors: A 12th Century Planned Village*. Easingwold, York: G.H. Smith & Son, p. 11.
[2] Oliver Rackham (1986), *History of the English Countryside*. London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, p. 86.
[3] Allison, op. cit., p. 71.
[4] See ibid., p. 94.

[5] Rackham, op. cit., p. 57.

[6] William Marshall (1788), *The Rural Economy of Yorkshire: Comprizing the Management of Landed Estates and the Present Practice of Husbandry in the Agricultural Districts of that County*. London.

[7] John Tuke (1800), *General View of the Agriculture of the North Riding of Yorkshire for the Board of Agriculture*. London.

[8] Jim Welburn, interview with the author, 2016/17.

[9] Jim Welburn, interview with the author, 2017.

[10] Rackham, op. cit., p. 91.

[11] Ibid., p. 60.

[12] Jonathan Adey (July 2004), Restoring Ancient Woodland. *Quarterly Journal of Forestry*, p. 201.

[13] Ted Green (April, 2015), Big Trees Need Small Organisms. *Quarterly Journal of Forestry*, p. 90.

[14] Green, op. cit., p. 90.

[15] Jonathan Allison (July, 2010), Forty Years of Woodland Management in North Yorkshire. *Quarterly Journal of Forestry*.

THE BONFIELD GILL AQUEDUCT
by Ed Dennison

Introduction

A new archaeological survey of the Bonfield Gill aqueduct was undertaken by Ed Dennison Archaeological Services Ltd (EDAS) in July 2012, prior to a programme of repair and consolidation funded by Natural England, on behalf of the Bransdale Moor ESS Partnership.[1] The aqueduct lies in the upper reaches of Bonfield Gill, between Bonfield Gill Bridge and Cinderhill Wath, on Pockley Moor (at NGR SE 61020 93835) and forms part of Joseph Foord's eighteenth-century Nawton water race. The structure comprises two stone-built piers or abutments either side of the Bonfield Beck, which were originally connected by a wooden launder, or trough.

The Foord water races are a network of gravity-fed water supply leats which were constructed by Joseph Foord (1714–88) to carry water from the high moors to various farms and villages on their southern fringes. These races are a work of remarkable surveying skill and their alignments, across the open moorland in particular, are visible for long distances. Where they survive, the races are formed by shallow ditches with low embankments, particularly on the downhill side, which closely follow the contours. In many places, they have structures associated with them, such as stone culverts or 'water smoots' where they pass beneath field walls, and 'brigsons' where stone slabs are laid across them to carry paths and tracks. The races were studied in depth by the late Isabel McLean,[2] and have been the subject of archaeological fieldwork by members of the Helmsley Archaeological and Historical Society (HAHS) and EDAS; the results of the latter, which are currently being written up,[3] will form a paper in a future issue of the journal.

The Bonfield Gill aqueduct forms part of the Nawton water race, one of Foord's major constructions, 15.2km (9.4 miles) long, starting at Piethorn Spring and terminating in Nawton village; the race and the associated Skiplam Rigg race were constructed by early 1760 and the gradient was 1 in 90 overall. Foord's intention was to supply water to the villages of Nawton and Beadlam, the agricultural land in Nawton, Skiplam and Welburn townships, two farms in Wombleton, and the gardens and fish pond of Welburn Hall. The source spring, adjacent to Piethorn Farm, supplied a copious amount of water for the race; in 1904 it was said to yield 80,000 gallons every 24 hours. Additional water was obtained by constructing a dam across the Bonfield Beck upstream from the aqueduct, and water was also fed in from several springs along the route.[4] The aqueduct is named and marked on both the Ordnance Survey 1857 six-inch map and the 1912 25-inch maps, with the Nawton water race depicted as crossing the Bonfield Gill.[5]

Historical Accounts and Previous Repairs

Some information on the operation and management of the aqueduct can be obtained from the daybook of George Wright, the waterman charged with looking after the Nawton and Beadlam water races between 1879 and 1899.[6] His entries show that the aqueduct was out of action between 1879 and 1881, due to an adjacent landslip and damage to the aqueduct itself. In December 1880, he records: 'Manual Barr Bransdale, putting up the Budment,

Eastmoors, that brings the water over from the Eastmoors into the Main Race, he finished it on 16th December 1880.' In April 1881 he notes: 'I put the Water a cross the Wood Trough from the East Moors. It had not run a cross the Wood Trough, very near two years [;] one piller was down about a year, it comes over very well now.' In the same month he records: '[expenses] Manuel Barr, Bransdale Bill, for putting up a Butment west side of Burnfield Gill ... £1.15sh ... I was helping him and William Handley, son, Mason, Spaw [in Sleightholme Dale].' It also seems that the aqueduct was used to take water piped under pressure from the Piethorn Spring as part of a 1907 water supply improvement scheme – this presumably means that pipes were laid along the aqueduct.

Figure 1: Repairs in progress by the Helmsley and District Group of the Yorkshire Archaeological Society, Summer 1964 (courtesy of the Helmsley Archive, HA 02462).

The aqueduct was repaired in the summer and autumn of 1964 by members of the Helmsley and District Group of the Yorkshire Archaeological Society (later to become the Helmsley Archaeological and Historical Society).[7] It was reported that the damage had been caused by vandalism rather than erosion, that the east pier was less damaged than the west pier, and that the structure consisted of a stone casing with an earth and rubble fill. The top four feet of the east pier needed to be completely rebuilt; using large stones recovered from the beck, the centre was re-filled with small stones and earth, the topmost course of stone was cemented into place, and a thin layer of soil was scattered on the top and seeded with grass. Similar repairs were carried out on the west pier although, as much of the stone had washed away, new stone was brought from a nearby quarry, probably used by the original builders (see Figure 1).   The remaining stone trough sections which were found during the reconstruction were placed on the top of the final grassed-down soil fill. Wooden notice

boards were also erected on either side. It is fortunate that Grayson published these records of the repairs, including a drawing, and there are several photographs of the repair works in progress in the Helmsley Archive.[8]

McLean also notes that the aqueduct was restored again in 1982, by the North York Moors National Park and volunteers from the British Trust for Conservation.[9] It is assumed that some of the stone trough sections were placed on the tops of the piers then, although it is not known precisely how much work was done. At a public lecture in 1997 one of the volunteers said that a section of the eastern race had also been cleared out, and a plaque that was erected unfortunately misdated the race and underestimated its length. McLean publishes a colour photograph of the repaired aqueduct, which was probably taken between 1995 and June 2005.[10]

The aqueduct was recorded by Barbara Hickman and Tony Wright of the Helmsley Archaeological and Historical Society as part of their survey of the Nawton race on 24 February 2008. They noted that the 'west pier [is] severely damaged – much missing (and carried tens of metres down the gill) and erosion is removing its base. The east pier is almost intact but is collapsing inwards, as it has been eroded beneath, and is being supported by a large fallen, wedged stone. The next flood could remove the structure entirely.'[11] This damage was largely caused by a severe flood in June 2005.

July 2012 Survey

Both piers are built of roughly coursed and squared sandstone, with dressed stone channels in sections to the upper part; there is a slight batter to both the north and south faces, but the west end of the east pier, which is relatively complete, is nearly vertical in profile. It appears that the piers were originally built as drystone structures, but that extensive use of a sandy mortar was made during repairs carried out in the 1960s (and possibly subsequently?). The aqueduct, from end to end, has a total visible length (east–west) of 16.20m, the gap between the beck 'faces' of the piers currently measuring c. 5.90m although it was obviously considerably less in the past, perhaps 3.50m (see below).

West Pier
The water race approaching the west pier was mostly hidden by vegetation at the time of the survey, but it measured c.1.0m across the top, with steeply sloping sides and a relatively flat bottom. The east side is embanked and, where it approaches the pier, the inner scarp is up to 0.40m in height. Close to the pier, the northern side is edged with upright stones, which guide the water around and into the stone channel set on the top of the pier; more of this kerbing is visible on the colour photograph in McClean's book taken after the 1982 restoration.

The stone channel on top of the west pier is constructed in sections. There are currently two surviving sections, with a third having been lost, and all were placed here as part of the 1964 works. The channels are on average 0.45m–0.50m wide and stand 0.35m high, and the internal channel is 0.15m deep. The longest of the surviving sections is 1.30m in length, and both have prominent diagonal tooling marks to their external and internal faces.
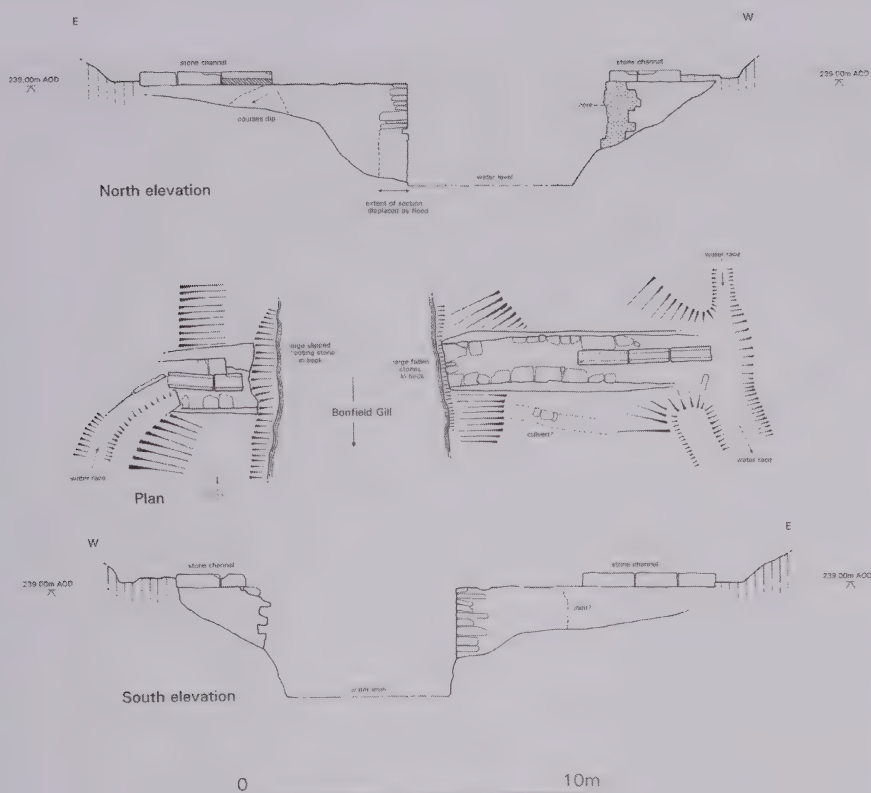
Figure 2: EDAS survey, July 2012.

The surviving part of the west pier has a maximum visible length of 2.80m and a maximum width of 2.0m across the base, and it stands up to 2.0m in height (excluding the stone channels), both the north and south faces being much reduced. The 1964 rebuilding work is clearly evident in the collapsed beck face of the pier. Comparison with photographs taken in 1964 and the subsequent post-1982 colour photograph referred to above suggest that a length of up to 2m has been lost from the west pier in the intervening years; this would make the gap between the piers after the 1964 works something in the order of 3.50m. A large sub-rectangular tilted stone in the west bank of the beck presumably represents a former foundation from 1964.

East Pier
The east pier is far more substantial and better preserved than the west pier. The 1964 account states that: 'Repairs were carried out first upon the eastern pier, which was less severely damaged than the other. The structure consisted of a stone casing with an earth and rubble fill. Much of this had been thrown down into the stream and the top four feet of the pier needed to be completely rebuilt. To do this, large stones had to be recovered from the stream and lifted into position on the pier. The centre was then filled with earth

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and small stones, and the topmost course of stone was cemented into place to try to prevent the damage recurring. A thin layer of soil was then scattered over the top and seeded with grass.'[12]

Figure 3: Stone channels on east pier, looking east (July 2012).

The remaining section (which still closely resembles that shown in 1964 and on the post-1982 colour photograph) has a maximum visible length of 7.50m and a maximum width of 1.70m across the base, and it stands up to 2.90m in height excluding the stone channels. Both the top of the pier and the tops of the stone channel are set very slightly lower than those to the west side of the gill. Although the 1964 account notes that the top four feet of the pier were rebuilt, it is not clear from the 1964 photographs how far this rebuilding progressed to the east, although the post-1982 colour photograph clearly shows that the top was reset and capped with mortar as described; some of this work may date to the latest, 1982, repair works. However, there are indications in both faces of possible former repair work, or alternatively phases of earlier repair.

On the north face, the western 0.90m end of the pier has been pushed south as a result of pressure from floodwaters, opening a ragged vertical crack in the face. It is possible that this crack reflects a weakness resulting from a joint between two different phases of repair or reconstruction. Further to the east, there is a short section of the north face where the courses dip markedly downwards from west to east, and may be overlain by the wall immediately to the east. On the south face, c. 3m to the east of the west end, there may be one or more relatively straight vertical joints, again perhaps resulting from a joint between two different phases of repair work or reconstruction.

The stone channel on top of the east pier has a total length of 3.90m and comprises three sections, decreasing slightly in length individually from west to east, but of the same overall dimensions as described to the west pier above; the westernmost section has lost

Figure 4: Repairs complete, looking southwest (May 2013).

its north side, which has fractured off leaving a regular break, while there is a small shallow recess cut into the top of the south side that might be an original feature. All three sections have prominent diagonal tooling marks to their external and internal faces, and the stone channel is located approximately centrally on the pier below. The post-1982 colour photograph appears to show the pier extending east beyond the stone channel into the adjacent water race, but this feature is no longer visible due to greatly increased vegetation cover.

The water race on the east side of the aqueduct is very overgrown. Directly opposite the stone channel, it is formed by a shallow flat-bottomed depression, some 1.20m wide across the top, although it narrows considerably to the north. A stone, apparently set on edge, to the immediate south of the channel may be the remains of a stone lining to the leat.

Conclusion

The data gathered by the July 2012 survey was used to produce a detailed specification for the consolidation and stabilisation of the structure,[13] and repair works were carried out between January and March 2013. The work involved replacing and repositioning fallen or skewed stone, a limited amount of rebuilding of the foundations using readily available stone from the bed of the beck, consolidating any exposed core work, replacing soil and vegetation on the top, and stabilising the banks of the beck on either side of the abutments. Hopefully this will secure the future of this relatively unknown but important part of Foord's impressive water course system.

Notes

[1] E. Dennison and S. Richardson (2012), Bonfield Gill Aqueduct, Pockley Moor, North York Moors: Archaeological Survey. Unpublished EDAS archive report no. 2012/426.R02 for North York Moors National Park Authority.

[2] I. A. McLean (2005), *Water from the Moors: The Life and Works of Joseph Foord.* Helmsley: North Yorks Moors National Park.

[3] E. Dennison (forthcoming), The Foord Water Races on Bransdale Moors, North Yorkshire: Archaeological Management Plan. Unpublished EDAS archive report no. 2012/426.R01 for North York Moors National Park Authority.

[4] McLean, *op. cit.*, pp. 136-147.

[5] Ordnance Survey first edition 6-inch map sheet 58, surveyed 1854; Ordnance Survey second edition 25-inch map sheet 58/15, surveyed 1889.

[6] McLean, *op. cit.*, pp. 142-143.

[7] J. N. Grayson (1965), Repairs to the Aqueduct at Bonfield Gill. *Ryedale Historian* 1, pp. 45-46.

[8] Photographs held in the Helmsley Archive, HA 02461, 02455 and 02462; www.helmsleyarchive.org.uk.

[9] McLean, *op. cit.*, p. 147.

[10] McLean, *op cit.*, p. 91 and colour Figure 10; personnel communication, Graham Lee, NYMNPA archaeologist, August 2012.

[11] Information supplied to EDAS by Tony Wright, HAHS.

[12] Grayson, *op. cit.*

[13] P. G. Pace (2012), Bransdale Water Races: Bonfield Gill Aqueduct: Condition Report and Specification for Repairs. Unpublished report for EDAS.

The Casten Dykes and the 1322 Battle of Byland, Sutton Bank
by Shaun Richardson and Ed Dennison

Introduction

In February–April 2016, detailed archaeological surveys of Casten Dyke South and the main part of Casten Dyke North, both near Sutton Bank in North Yorkshire, were undertaken by Ed Dennison Archaeological Services Ltd (EDAS) at the request of the North Yorkshire Moors National Park Authority (NYMNPA). The following provides a brief summary of the results while the full survey report has been deposited at the NYMNPA Historic Environment Record at Helmsley.[1]

Historical and Archaeological Background

The Cleave Dyke System
Casten Dyke North and Casten Dyke South are located close to Sutton Bank, some 3.30km and 2.15km north of the village of Kilburn respectively. Both are traditionally interpreted as forming part of the Cleave Dyke System, the most westerly of a series of dykes on the Tabular Hills which form linear ditches and banks stretching north–south over 9km either parallel with and/or close to the western scarp of the Hambleton Hills. The system is generally believed to have been constructed between the Bronze Age and Iron Age to augment the natural division of the terrain by river valleys and watersheds, and is interpreted as representing territorial boundaries in an area largely given over to pastoralism.[2]

Fieldwork undertaken since the late 1990s has challenged the idea of a dyke 'system' of a single phase or closely related phases. That part of Casten Dyke North lying to the northeast of the A170 was surveyed by Archaeological Services WYAS in 1996; it was suggested that the extremity of the earthwork, close to Flassen Gill, was later in date than the main part, and that it may have been cut by the English in 1322 to counter a Scottish advance from the north.[3] This was apparently the first time that a possible link was made between any of the earthworks in the area and the Battle of Byland.

Since the mid-nineteenth century, Casten Dyke South and the northern rampart of the adjacent Roulston Scar promontory fort were often considered to be a single entity.[4] The first suggestion that they were not contemporary appears to have been made in 1960 by Nicholas Thomas[5], although the two continued to be linked into the 1990s.[6] The very western end of Casten Dyke South was recorded as part of a wider survey of Roulston Scar by English Heritage (now Historic England) in 2001. The dyke was described as being a distinct entity, physically separate from the fort, with no grounds for supposing that the two were contemporary or even nearly so; a medieval origin was thought more plausible (although admittedly still speculative) for the dyke.[7] These conclusions had wider implications for the whole of the Cleave Dyke System. Although the Cleave Dyke is indisputably prehistoric in date, originating as a pit alignment,[8] and most probably the Hesketh Dyke too, not all of the boundaries running perpendicular to the Cleave Dyke should be assumed to be contemporary and, until more accurate dating evidence becomes available, they should be regarded as the residual outcome of a process of land management which has evolved over the course of many centuries.[9]

Finally, in the autumn of 2013, a small-scale research excavation was undertaken on the defences of the Roulston Scar fort, seeking evidence to help identify a putative relationship with the nearby small promontory fort at Boltby Scar, some 4km to the north. The excavation established that the latest phase of activity was a linear trench cut into and along the back of the Iron Age rampart, with associated postholes, probably representing some form of palisade. No dating evidence was secured, but the position of the trench, its sharp definition and the nature of the fills suggested a short period of use and an historic, rather than prehistoric, date.[10]

The Battle of Byland

The Battle of Byland took place on 14 October 1322, forming part of the long-running Anglo–Scottish conflict. After an unsuccessful expedition into southern Scotland in August 1322, Edward II was back at Durham by 26 September. Robert the Bruce moved his army to Carlisle on 30 September, and then down the Eden Valley, arriving at Northallerton by 13 October, only some 13 miles from Edward who was by now at Rievaulx Abbey. The English king appears to have been travelling with only a small escort/household; he instructed the Earl of Pembroke, Aymer de Valance, to gather his forces and to move towards Byland, where he would find the Earl of Richmond and Henry de Beaumont. It has been estimated that the English force may have comprised as few as between 500 and 1000 men, with the Scottish army perhaps numbering some 4000.[11] The nearby small castle on the conical eminence of Hood Hill appears to have had no known involvement in the battle.[12]

The English force took up position somewhere near the village of Old Byland, on the edge of the Hambleton Hills overlooking the Vale of York, although the exact location remains uncertain. Edward stayed behind at Rievaulx, possibly because he realised that there were insufficient English numbers to win any battle, and so the action was essentially creating time for him to escape. Part of the Scottish army appears to have launched a full-frontal assault on the English up the steep natural scarp, while others found a way up and around to successfully outflank the English position and defeat their force. Mounted Scottish troops were then able to speed towards Rievaulx Abbey; by the time they arrived, Edward II had already left, but evidently in some hurry as important elements of his baggage train remained behind.[13]

The Surviving Earthworks

Casten Dyke North (Kilburn Moor Plantation)

The surveyed element of Casten Dyke North runs between NGR SE 451675 482500 (the westernmost visible point where it passes over the scarp of Sutton Bank) and NGR SE 452115 482933 (the point where the earthwork has been destroyed by the line of the A170 Sutton Bank to Helmsley Road). The dyke is set on a general southwest/northeast alignment, apart from a c. 125m long section closest to the road, where it begins to curve around towards the east; the surveyed element had a total length of 571m. Excepting the atypical southwestern end which passes over Sutton Bank, the earthwork slopes gently upwards from northeast to southwest, rising by some 8.30m over a distance of 551m. The main bank is set to the north of the ditch, with a much smaller counterscarp bank to the south (see Figure 2).
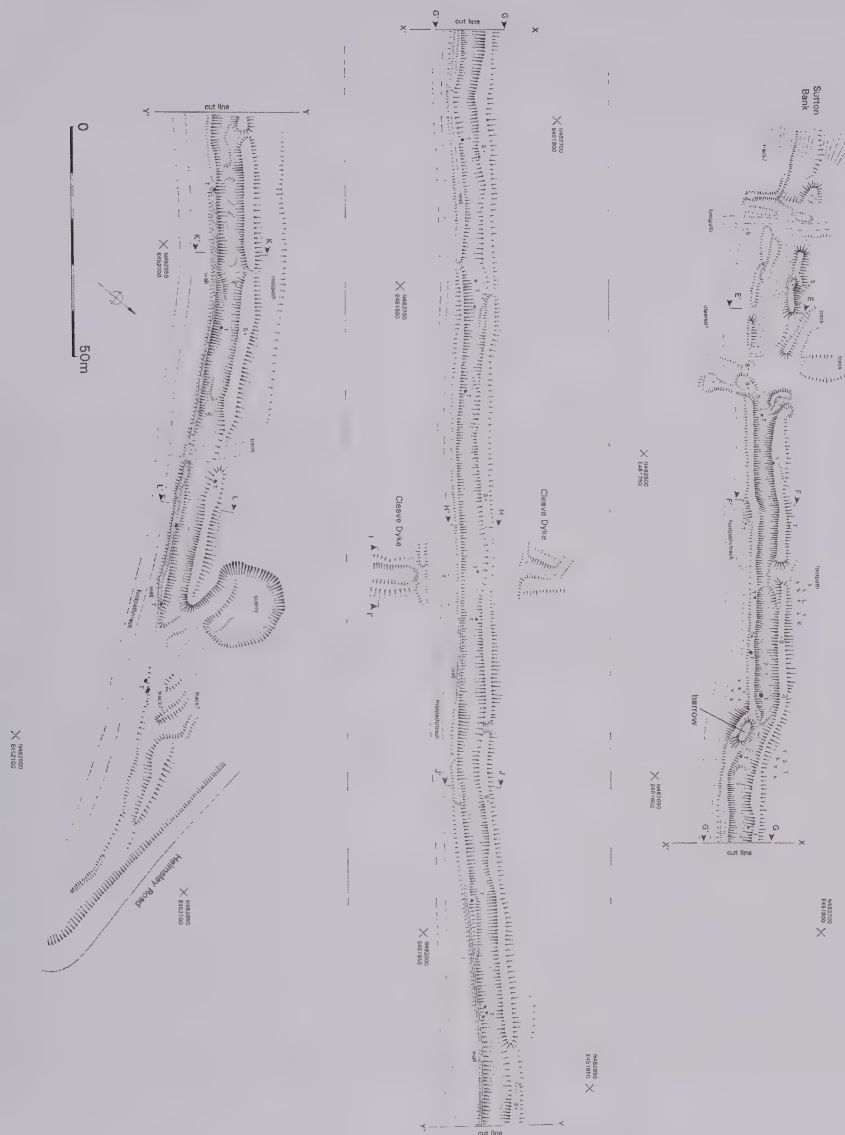
Figure 1: Earthwork survey of Casten Dyke North.

A substantial section of the dyke's southwestern end has been heavily disturbed by Second World War training activity, including weapons pits, trackways and firing/observation positions. Although the dyke might appear less disturbed beyond, it is in fact highly likely that there was further wartime remodelling, including two lengths each between 15m to 30m long, where both sides of the ditch appear to have been re-cut to a very steep profile, the ditch being 4.0m wide and up to 1.8m deep. Past the point where the maximum extent

of the re-cutting stops, the alignment of the dyke swings markedly to the east. This change in direction has previously been assigned to the fact that the dyke incorporates an earlier barrow into its line here.[14] The barrow (if this is what it is) is placed within, and rises above, the counterscarp bank. The earthwork evidence suggests that before it was incorporated into the bank, the barrow was either sub-oval or sub-circular in plan, with a diameter of *c*. 11.0m.

Northeast of the barrow, the dyke earthwork resumes its previous alignment, demonstrating the form which characterises much of its length. A substantial, relatively flat-topped, bank, averaging between 3.5m–4.5m wide and standing up to 1.0m high, has a steep-sided ditch running parallel to the southeast side, the ditch measuring up to 5.5m wide and up to 1.9m deep; the south side is generally cut to a steeper profile than the north side. The counterscarp bank averages 2.0m wide and between 0.5m–1.0m high. The ruined remains of the drystone wall surmounting the counterscarp bank do not become

Figure 2: Casten Dyke North, southwest of barrow, looking southwest.

clearly visible for some distance, although the form of the earthworks suggests that it survives as a buried feature immediately northeast of the barrow. As it moves northeast, the whole of the dyke earthwork gradually becomes more spread out and less well defined.

Approximately halfway along the length of the surveyed section, Casten Dyke North crosses the line of Cleave Dyke, the former clearly cutting or disturbing the latter. That part of Cleave Dyke to the immediate northwest was previously surveyed in November 2011 as part of the investigation of probable military training earthworks dug in the early part of 1940 in Kilburn Moor Plantation.[15] East of Cleave Dyke, Casten Dyke North

slowly begins to become more prominent once more, although there is again extensive evidence for Second World War remodelling, seen both in the earthworks and on wartime aerial photography.[16] Towards the northeastern end of the surveyed section, the line of the dyke has been completely destroyed for a distance of over 28m to create access to a quarry. It becomes visible again for a short distance but is then lost beneath the scarp supporting the A170 Sutton Bank to Helmsley Road.

Casten Dyke South
The surveyed element of Casten Dyke South runs between NGR SE 451800 481638 (the westernmost visible point where it plunges into Boar's Gill) and NGR SE 452077 481630 (the easternmost visible point close to High Town Bank Road). The dyke is broadly set on a northwest/southeast alignment, although there is some local variation within this; it has a total length of 263m. The earthwork slopes gently downwards from southeast to northwest, falling by *c*. 1.66m over a distance of 245m. At its west end, it falls much more steeply; this is partly a result of later disturbance although, given the natural topography, this end of the earthwork must always have sloped steeply down into Boar's Gill. In contrast to Casten Dyke North, the main bank is set to the south of the ditch.

At the west end, the narrow steep-sided valley of Boar's Gill cuts north into the natural escarpment, becoming shallower as it bends towards the west.[17] In the 2001 English Heritage survey, it was noted that a short section of Casten Dyke South was visible running down into, and eventually merging with, the east scarp of Boar's Gill[18], but this area was very overgrown by 2016. The earthwork has been completely destroyed by a later nineteenth-century quarry and adjacent trackway for a short distance, but it resumes above to the east as a linear feature, comprising a bank, 2.0m wide and up to 0.5m high, with a steep-sided ditch, 4.0m wide and up to 1.5m deep on its north side; there is no clear evidence of a counterscarp bank along the northern lip of the ditch. There is then a break, caused by major post-construction disturbance, clearly visible on a vertical aerial photograph taken in March 1946.[19]

To the east of the break, the earthwork resumes, demonstrating the form which characterises the majority of its surviving length. A relatively flat-topped bank, averaging 3.0m wide and standing up to 0.5m high, has a steep-sided ditch, averaging between 3.0m–4.0m wide and up to 1.4m deep, to the north; the ditch has a very shallow concave or flattened base and, in some places, is quite wet (see Figure 4). In 2001, it was noted that there was 'a counterscarp bank of minimal size along the northern lip of the ditch'.[20] There are still parts of the earthwork where such a feature may just be visible, but because conifers have been planted close to the ditch's northern lip, it is very difficult to distinguish between plantation disturbance and an earlier earthwork. For much of the surviving length of the earthwork, the south side of the ditch is slightly steeper than the north side; however, there is again convincing earthwork and photographic evidence for wartime re-cutting along almost the whole length of the dyke.

Figure 3: Earthwork survey of Casten Dyke South.

Figure 4: Casten Dyke South, re-cut section towards east end, looking west.

The eastern end of the surviving earthwork incorporates at least one well-preserved Second World War weapons pit, and then the bank and ditch are very obviously truncated some 9m short of High Town Bank Road. In 1856, the Ordnance Survey first edition six-inch map showed Casten Dyke South extending east beyond High Town Bank Road as far as the head of another steep-sided valley called Hell Hole.[21] By 1893, most of this had been levelled, presumably for agriculture, leaving a small fragment immediately east of the road[22]; this fragment survived until the mid-twentieth century, but was probably levelled and ploughed over during the 1960s. An inspection of the head of Hell Hole, undertaken by English Heritage in 2001 to see whether any trace of the original terminus of the dyke remained, revealed that the area had been infilled; although the slightest hint of a ditch-like earthwork may have been visible, this could also have been a natural gulley.[23]

Discussion and Conclusions

As already noted, there is little firm dating evidence for either of the two dykes, although Casten Dyke North is demonstrably later than Cleave Dyke, while a medieval origin is perhaps more plausible for Casten Dyke South, with no connection to Roulston Scar fort. Nevertheless, in the absence of excavated evidence or further documentary research into the longevity of the function of the dykes as administrative boundaries[24], close dating remains impossible. When excavated, linear boundaries in the North York Moors have sometimes yielded surprising dates. For example, the triple dykes at the southern end of the Danby Rigg cairn field had always been assumed to be Bronze Age by association with the other features on the Rigg, but excavation proved an early medieval date, raising the

possibility that the cairn field had been exploited for grazing and then perhaps modified during the same period.[25] Even a more recent study of the cross-ridge boundaries on the North York Moors concludes that most seem to have been in use during the early Bronze Age, and perhaps before, 'but whether or not their construction and use extended later than this is not known'.[26]

On current evidence, it is not easy to make a convincing case that Casten Dyke North was created specifically for the Battle of Byland, although the anomalies at the northeast end close to Flassen Gill, where the ditch is on the 'wrong' (i.e. north) side, are interesting. However, Casten Dyke South is another matter. There can be little doubt that its purpose was to enclose the land to the south, a promontory of *c*. 23h, by running between two steep-sided natural valleys, namely Boar's Gill to the west and Hell Hole to the east. It has been suggested that Roulston Scar fort may have served partially as a seasonal grazing enclosure for livestock management[27], and it is possible that Casten Dyke South enclosed the plateau for a similar purpose at a later date. Nevertheless, it remains quite plausible that Casten Dyke South was either created specifically for the Battle of Byland by the English army, or that it was a pre-existing boundary which was re-used during the battle. By sealing off the south side of the promontory, and with very steep slopes on all other sides, any force encamped within would have felt that they held a reasonably secure position, particularly if they were augmented by another force nearby to the west which had modified the northern rampart of Roulston Scar. The promontory also overlooks Boar's Gill and Hell Hole, both of which would have provided routes up the natural escarpment for the Scottish forces seeking to outflank the English; the route the Scottish took may have lain slightly further to the east, which is still named as 'Scotch Corner'.

If this was proved to be the case (e.g. through sample excavation), then Casten Dyke South would be particularly important, as positively identified medieval battlefield earthworks in Yorkshire remain rare.[28] If the English were encamped on the south side of Casten Dyke South, even if only briefly, then it is possible that archaeological evidence of their presence may survive. Any such evidence would also force a reassessment of the battle itself. The traditional narrative suggests that the battle was a hastily organised action, but the use of defensive earthworks would perhaps indicate that it involved more preparation and/or planning on both sides.

The 2016 survey work has also demonstrated the profound impact of Second World War activity on the existing form of the dykes. This, and previous surveys,[29] indicate that there is an area of discontinuous Second World War earthworks stretching at least 1.3km to the south of the A170 and perhaps as much as 550m from the edge of the Sutton Bank scarp. The presence of this activity here is significant for a number of reasons. First, extensive wartime alterations, particularly wholesale re-cutting, may well have obscured earlier alterations carried out in 1322 as part of the Battle of Byland, particularly if these were done hastily and in piecemeal fashion immediately prior to the battle. Second, the alterations are highly unlikely to all be of a single phase. Survey work at other Second World War sites, such as heavy anti-aircraft batteries,[30] has shown that sites can undergo multiple successive changes in only a few years, leaving a subtle trail of evidence equally worthy of the detailed consideration that would be given to the remains of earlier periods. For example, some of the features recorded within Casten Dyke North, such as the spacing of the gaps in the bank, are reminiscent of probable Bren Gun Carrier training activity previously recorded in Cawthorn Woods near Pickering[31]; the 12th Battalion Green

Howards Bren Gun Carrier detachment are known to have briefly used the nearby Roulston Scar airfield as a training ground.[32]

Notes

[1] S. Richardson and E. Dennison (2016), Casten Dyke North and Casten Dyke South, Kilburn Moor and Scawton Moor Plantations, Hambleton, North Yorkshire: Archaeological Surveys. Unpublished EDAS archive report no. 2016/516.R01 for North York Moors National Park Authority.

[2] Historic England Scheduled Monument Descriptions, National Heritage List for England, numbers 1012743, 1012992 and 1012993.

[3] A. Boucher (1996), Casten Dyke, North York Moors: Earthwork Survey. Unpublished Archaeological Services WYAS archive report for North York Moors National Park Authority.

[4] A. Oswald and T. Pearson (2001), *An Iron Age Promontory Fort at Roulston Scar, North Yorkshire*. English Heritage Archaeological Investigation Report Series AI/11/2001, p.7.

[5] N. Thomas (1960), *A Guide to Prehistoric England*. London: Batsford, p. 252.

[6] D. Spratt (Ed.) (1993), *Prehistoric and Roman Archaeology of North-East Yorkshire*. York: Council for British Archaeology/North York Moors National Park, p. 134.

[7] Oswald and Pearson op. cit., pp. 24-25, 34.

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[9] Oswald and Pearson op. cit., pp. 34-35.

[10] G. Lee (2014), Battle of Byland: Building up the Evidence. https://northyorkmoorsnationalpark.wordpress.com/2014/09/08/battle-of-byland-building-up-the-evidence/ (first accessed March 2016).

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[13] Bell op. cit., pp. 114-117; Frusher, op. cit.

[14] D. Spratt (1982), The Cleave Dyke System. *The Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* 54, pp. 33-52.

[15] E. Dennison and S. Richardson (2014), Kilburn Moor Plantation, Sutton Bank, North Yorkshire: Archaeological Survey of 20th Century Military Remains. Unpublished EDAS archive report 2011/409.R01 for North York Moors National Park Authority.

[16] English Heritage Archives, aerial photograph RAF/10/UK/1524, taken 3 May 1940.

[17] Oswald and Pearson, op. cit., p. 3.

[18] Oswald & Pearson, op. cit., pp. 15, 25.

[19] Historic England Archives, aerial photograph 106G/UK/1298, frame 4016, taken March 1946.

[20] Oswald and Pearson, op. cit., p. 25.

[21] 1856 Ordnance Survey 6 inches to 1 mile map Yorkshire sheet 88 (surveyed 1853).

[22] 1893 Ordnance Survey 25 inches to 1 mile map Yorkshire sheet 88/11.

[23] Oswald and Pearson, op. cit., pp. 24-25.

[24] Spratt, op. cit., p. 36.

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[27] Oswald and Pearson, op. cit., p. 34.

[28] S. Moorhouse (1981), Minor Features of the Countryside, in M. Faull and S. Moorhouse (Eds), *West Yorkshire: An Archaeological Survey to A.D. 1500*, vol. 3. Wakefield: West Yorkshire Metropolitan County Council, pp. 840-842; W. Pearson (1995), Bramham Moor and the Red, White and Brown Battles. *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* 67, pp. 23-50.

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[30] E. Dennison and S. Richardson (2016), Butt Farm Heavy Anti-Aircraft Battery, Walkington, East Yorkshire: Archaeological and Condition Survey. Unpublished EDAS archive report 2016/515.R01 for

Historic England; E. Dennison and S. Richardson (2017), Stone Creek Heavy Anti-Aircraft Battery, Sunk Island, East Yorkshire: Archaeological Survey. Unpublished EDAS archive report 2013/463.R01 for W. M. Osgerby Ltd.

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[32] J. Harwood and S. McMillan (2015), *Defence of the UK: North Yorkshire and Cleveland: Ryedale*, vol. 6, part 2. Skelton, pp. 40-41.

Cover illustration: Roman coins from the Helmsley area hoard (photographs by Andrew Woods; arrangement by Paul Harris).